

No Popery: John Cormack and the Use of History

John Smith Wheeler

**Doctor of Philosophy
University of Edinburgh
2003**



I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of research
and composition undertaken solely by myself.

John Smith Wheeler

ABSTRACT

The thesis sets out to show that the appearance and performance of John Cormack and the Protestant Action Society (PAS) in Edinburgh in the 1930s was not an aberration but a phase in the development of the national psyche. From its creation by Cormack in 1933 the Society made an extraordinary impact on Edinburgh municipal politics, winning nearly one third of the votes cast at the 1936 election and yet just a year later it was fading away. The movement had its roots in the history of Scotland, particularly since the reformation of religion in 1560, in which the seventeenth century struggle to maintain the Presbyterian form of the reformed religion is an important influence. This history, in its traditional form more oral and folkloric than academic, with that of the immigration of Irish Roman Catholics in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, is seen as an essential element in the formation of the mindset of people in Edinburgh which made it possible for the PAS to have the success it had, albeit very temporary. It was used to legitimise and justify the Society's anti-Roman Catholic political campaign that was given a degree of respectability by the actions in the 1920s of Presbyterian churches, led by the Church of Scotland, in pressing for a curb on immigration from the Irish Free State, actions that were essentially anti-Roman Catholic. A more immediate factor in the rise of the party was the economic and social condition of the working people in the city. Unemployment had been a problem in the 1920s. It rose to unbearable levels in the early 1930s. Poor housing was a serious problem and several wards were designated slum clearance areas. Another influence was the perceived aggression of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland generally but particularly in Edinburgh where a new Archbishop appointed in 1929 was thought by some to be unduly assertive in promoting his faith in this most Presbyterian city.

A traditional view of history in which the Church of Rome posed an enduring threat to the nation was a prime propaganda tool of the PAS and considerable space is given to setting out this version of the nation's past in order to place the PAS in its historic context. An appreciation of the indigenous population's view of the more recent conflicts resulting from Irish immigration is also necessary to an understanding of the PAS appeal. The mobilisation of this version of history, taken together with the harsh economic and social conditions in which many people lived at the time, provided the elements for which John Cormack was the catalyst to enliven Edinburgh's municipal politics in the 1930s. With the return of more prosperous times and perhaps time to reflect on the basics of PAS policy the party lost its support as quickly as it had been gained. The advent and experience of the 1939-45 war with the homogenising effect of facing a common enemy and the decline of religion as a social and political force in the second half of the twentieth century renders it unlikely that there could be a return of sectarian strife in which 'No Popery' could be an effective slogan.

NO POPERY: JOHN CORMACK AND THE USE OF HISTORY

CONTENTS

	Page
Abbreviations	v
Acknowledgements	1
Preface	2
Chapter 1 Introduction	13
The Function of Religion	
'No Popery' – An Effective Political Slogan	
Forming the Protestant Action Society	
Review of Literature	
Recent Studies in the Field	
Outline of Chapters	
Chapter 2 'The Menace of Popery'	42
Reformation	
Martyrs and Martyrology	
Reign of Elizabeth I – Plots, Risings and Invasion	
Jesuits – Perfidious Priests	
Scotland's Reformation	
The Struggle for Presbyterianism	
Charles I and the Covenants	
The Bishops' Wars	
Disaffection in England	
The Irish Rebellion	
Civil War in England and Scotland	
Restoration – Renewed enforcement of Episcopacy	
Covenanters and Conventicles – the Killing Times	
Fears of Popery	
James II: A RC Monarch	
The 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688	
Re-establishment of Presbyterianism	
The Jacobite Rebellions	
History as Propaganda	

3 'The Irish Invasion'	86
The Plantation of Ulster	
The 1641 Rising, Siege of Londonderry, Battle of the Boyne	
Emigration from Ireland to Scotland	
Irish RCs a 'Separate Race'	
Reaction to the Incomers	
Revival of the RC Church in Scotland	
Development of anti-Irish RC feeling	
Sectarian Conflict	
Where Poorer RCs lived in Edinburgh	
'Ne Temere', the Education (S) Act 1918, the Irish Free State	
Immigrant Paupers	
Public Perception of the 'Invasion'	
 4 Presbyterian Alarm	 123
Assertive Church of Rome	
Protestant Reaction	
RC Church in Edinburgh	
RC Campaign for the Right to Public Display	
Political Influence of the Church of Rome	
The European Dimension	
Demands for Control of Immigration	
The Orange Order	
'Ne Temere' Decree	
The Education (Scotland) Act 1918	
The Labour Party and RC Vote	
Challenge to History	
Religious Toleration	
 5 1930s Edinburgh – Economy and Politics	 173
Unemployment	
Housing Conditions	
RCs and Politics	
Fascists in Edinburgh	
Other Political Activity in Edinburgh	
Local anti-RC Political Activity	
Leith and Edinburgh Anti-Roman Catholicism	

6 John Cormack and the Protestant Action Society 203

Ratcliffe and the Scottish Protestant League
 Cormack and the PAS
 Contrast with earlier Anti-RC Organisations
 Genesis of the PAS
 Use of the Printing Press
 The Use of History as Propaganda
 Press Bias
 International Aspects of Publicity
 The Party Journal
 Street Meetings
 The Demonstrations
 Covenanters Memorial Gathering
 Lack of Damage and Violence
 Archbishop McDonald
 Edinburgh – Belfast Contrast
 Action by Roman Catholic MPs
 The Fading PAS
 Demonstration-CounterDemonstration

7 The Political Campaigns 264

Successful Political Debut
 Other anti-RC candidates
 1936 the Peak Year
 1937 Decline
 Conditions Contributing to Success
 Reasons for Decline

8 Conclusion and Postscript 290

Appendices 304

- 1 List of persons executed for heresy in the years leading up to the Reformation
- 2 Translation of Papal Bull, 'Regnans in Excelsis'
- 3 Letter from Mary Queen of Scots to King Philip II

- 4 Copy of letter addressed to Major Elliot, Under Secretary of State at the Scottish Office from Mr James L. Anderson, enclosing a petition regarding Immigration from the Irish Free State
- 5 Religious Politics
- 6 Protestant Action Society pamphlet
- 7 Labour Party pamphlet
- 8 Letter from John Cormack to the Secretary of State for Scotland
- 9 Press Statement by Archbishop McDonald
- 10 Map of North Leith
- 11 Map of Central Edinburgh including Grassmarket
- 12 Frontispiece of *A Cloud of Witnesses*
- 13 Note of interview with George Hackland
- 14 Note of interview with James G. MacLean
- 15 Note of interview with Mrs Constance Jamieson

Bibliography

ABBREVIATIONS

BL catalogue	British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975
BUF	British Union of Fascists
CYMS	Catholic Young Men's Society
EEN	Edinburgh Evening News
ELO	Edinburgh and Leith Observer
IFS	Irish Free State
LP	Lord Provost
ML	Ministry of Labour
NUWM	National Unemployed Workers Movement
MP	Member of Parliament
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
PAS	Protestant Action Society
PRO	Public Record Office
RC	Roman Catholic
S of S	Secretary of State
SO	Scottish Office
SPL	Scottish Protestant League
SRO	Scottish Record Office
UF	United Free Presbyterian Church
US of S	Under Secretary of State

Acknowledgements

I received much informed advice and assistance from the staff of the libraries which I used in my research, particularly the Edinburgh University Main Library, New College Library, National Library of Scotland and Edinburgh Central Library Scottish Lending and Edinburgh Room. The staff of the archives to which I was allowed access, mainly the National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh City Archives, the Scottish Catholic Archives and the library of the Grand Lodge of the Orange Order, were always helpful. Some private individuals provided personal insights into aspects of the research and I am grateful to them, especially to George Hackland, Constance Jamieson, James MacLean, Gordon McCracken and Mark Dilworth. Without the patient guidance and encouragement of my supervisors, Graeme Morton and Ewen Cameron, who restored my enthusiasm during the inevitable low points of the study, the work would not have been completed.

NO POPERY: John Cormack and the use of history

Preface

At first sight the rise and success of John Cormack and the Protestant Action Society (PAS) in Edinburgh during the 1930s seemed to me to be an aberration in the twentieth century when religious toleration was coming to be accepted as the norm in Britain. It seemed all the more strange that the raucous street demonstrations signalling the rise of the PAS took place in Edinburgh with its modern reputation as a city where desire for respectability was a common characteristic of the people. An understanding of how such a phenomenon could arise required answers to a series of questions and the attempt to obtain these answers determined the course of my research. The following paragraphs set out the distinct threads of the argument of my thesis

The central aim was to form a view on whether the PAS was an aberration or was compatible with the history of Scotland generally and Edinburgh in particular and explicable in the social, economic and political conditions of the period. Consideration of the party's rallying cry of 'No Popery' raised the immediate question of why Cormack should think this an adequate summation of his policies and how could it have succeeded in rousing the emotions of his supporters. Most events have some roots in the past. Anti-Catholicism, which was the driving force for the party, had been an important political influence in Britain since the Reformation and I felt it necessary to examine how it had built up and to what extent it was still relevant in the early twentieth century. Important to this analysis, then, was to compare the historiographical

interpretation of Catholicism found in the orations and writings of the PAS with that found, before and throughout the period of Cormack's activity in the 1930s, in the general histories. It is, of course not new information, but the rehearsal of this version of history was essential to obtain an understanding of the intensity of feeling against the Roman Catholic Church among some people in Scotland in the early twentieth century that the PAS political campaign revealed.

While this historical anti-Catholicism remained fundamental to Cormack's appeal the PAS emphasis on the Irish origins or antecedents of the Roman Catholics against whom it campaigned raised another question. This led to examination of the way that Irish immigration refreshed anti-Catholicism in the nineteenth century which has been the subject of much historiographical analysis since the late twentieth century. To engage with this recent historiography contemporary writing in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, particularly reports in newspapers and journals, have helped me to assess the reaction of native Scots to what some termed the 'Irish invasion'. They give a flavour of how ordinary people reacted to the immigration of so many Irish in a comparatively short period. This is important, since the PAS effect on ordinary working class people is largely the subject of the thesis. Records in the National Archives of Scotland, 'Irish Immigration into Scotland' – HH 55/596 were also valuable sources as were reports on the Census of Population which contain comment as well as statistics.

There were other factors affecting the lives of the people of Edinburgh and I had to consider the influence of social, economic and political conditions in the 1930s on the

Society's campaigns and their reception. People are conditioned by their history, often unconsciously, but nevertheless critically. They are, however, acutely conscious of their present living conditions. Unemployment and poor housing were serious problems in Edinburgh in the 1920s and 1930s. As well as newspaper comment there is abundant evidence of this in reports and observations on these issues in the municipal and national archives. The national government was almost obsessively concerned with unemployment and published a constant stream of statistical analyses which are preserved in the archives.¹ The economic distress caused by unemployment was an important factor in the acceptance of scapegoating of Irish Roman Catholics as I bring out in chapter 5. The state of working class housing was also a serious concern. Edinburgh Town Council archives have reports by the city's Medical Officer of Health illustrating the effect of this problem.² Minutes of meetings of the Council record frequent references to slum clearance. Another of the sources to which I turned for information was Leith Local History Society and a recollection of housing conditions in Leith at that time provided by one of its members, reported in chapter 5, gives an impression of the social effect of slum conditions in these years. Captain J. Landells, for example, who has a particular interest in the history of Leith Docks, provided pointers to sources for evidence of Leith's economic recovery in the later thirties. The depressed economic and poor social conditions of so many people in Edinburgh in the early thirties was exploited by the PAS as I bring out in chapters 5 and 6. As conditions improved later in the decade the fortunes of the party declined as we shall see in chapter 7.

Economic and social conditions were, as ever, the battle ground for political parties. There was general political stability in Edinburgh throughout the period with conservative politicians in power in the city. However, the difficult times of the 1930s gave rise to political turbulence, of which the PAS were only part. Edinburgh had also to cope with Fascism in the shape of visits by leaders of the British Union of Fascists (BUF), with agitation by Communists and action by other organisations like the National Unemployed Workers Movement (NUWM) as well as the growing Labour Party. These were national organisations with implications for central government and were given appropriate attention by the authorities. The BUF was clearly a particular problem in Edinburgh. Its activities are well documented in the NAS so that their impact can readily be assessed. An important question to be answered was how the authorities local and national dealt with these political problems, particularly whether the PAS was accorded different treatment from other political parties. The NAS and the Edinburgh City Archives have records of the actions of national and local authorities in relation to political activity in the city that demonstrate the impartiality with which they proceeded. Edinburgh City police and Scottish Office reports as well as the local press reports and comments on the PAS and on Roman Catholic reactions to Cormack's speeches and the demonstrations are revealing of the attention given to these matters.³ Not all of this material was available to earlier researchers of the PAS, such as Tom Gallagher and Steve Bruce, as Scottish Office files dealing with 'Edinburgh Disturbances' in the series NAS HH 55 which deals with police surveillance of political activity were not released to the public until the 1990s. Gallagher makes reference to NAS HH 1/777, 'Roman Catholicism: Demonstrations in Edinburgh', which deals with the PAS street actions but

seems not have seen files in the other series which are necessary to appreciate the even-handedness with which the authorities handled political activity in the city. The local newspapers reported political events, especially local elections, and provide an impression of the effect that the PAS had in enlivening politics in Edinburgh and in enthusing a large part of the population. However the party was given no quarter by the Edinburgh press which it accused of bias and censorship as I bring out in chapter 6, pp. 221-223. This lack of sympathy from the press had a strong influence on the way the PAS operated, its reliance on its own publications, particularly its own newspaper, and other methods of publicity which is important in the discussion in chapter 6.

Although Cormack spoke in 1936 of members of his party standing as Parliamentary candidates in future years and he contested the Leith constituency in 1945, failing miserably, the party remained a local political organisation albeit remarkably successful in the short term. The complaints that Cormack made against the Roman Catholic Church were not, in essence, applicable only to Edinburgh, they were national concerns. This raised the question of why he made no impression outside his native city. National organisations in Scotland were active in the field of anti-Roman Catholicism in the early twentieth century yet he found no allies among them. It was important to know, therefore, what, if any, connection or relationship Cormack had with them and why there was no rapprochement. The Presbyterian Churches had led the opposition to Rome throughout the nineteenth century and were still the most important anti-RC force in the early twentieth century. They spawned a number of anti-popery organisations in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and their activities are considered in

chapter 3, pp. 100-103 and chapter 4, p. 127-128. The rhetoric they employed is relevant to consideration of that used by Cormack. I consulted many of their publications which are available in the National Library of Scotland, including annual reports, pamphlets, speeches, and sermons. They provided clear evidence that Cormack and the PAS were a continuation of long established anti-catholicism in the city. I had hoped that one of the nineteenth century organisations which is still in existence, the Scottish Reformation Society, would have had some records of contact with the PAS but the secretary of the society informed me that there were none.

In view of the Presbyterian churches' anti-catholic stance it is not surprising that immigration from largely Roman Catholic Ireland was a cause of anxiety among Presbyterians and the Church of Scotland led a campaign in the 1920s and 1930s to have it curbed. This is chronicled in the Scottish press and from the correspondence columns it seems to have been a subject on which there were strong feelings. Here again newspapers give some indication of what ordinary people felt about the matter as well as what editors and their staff saw as important. The NAS contain records of the Scottish Office memoranda and correspondence in connection with the Presbyterian churches' campaign, revealing a surprising amount of support for it.⁴ The Church of Scotland General Assembly reports, the full series of which is held at Edinburgh University New College library, trace the progress of the campaign to its ultimate failure. The Church and Nation Committee of the Church reported annually on the topic. Sermons and speeches by clergymen commonly addressed the problem in terms like 'The Danger of the Irish Inflow'. Alarm was expressed in pamphlets and books about the danger of an

Irish takeover of Scotland as we shall see in chapter 5. It is significant that the Church did not acknowledge Cormack as an ally in its campaign for a curb on Irish immigration. The General Assembly reports for the years 1934 to 1938 make no direct reference to the PAS despite the high profile of that party in those years. There is an indirect acknowledgement of PAS activity in the report of the Committee on Church Interests for 1935 that records reports of a growing belief that 'no Protestant has the least chance of employment in certain undertakings so long as there are Roman Catholics unemployed' and 'there is a rising tide of indignation, the exploitation of which is likely to lead to a most unfortunate and undesirable intrusion of sectarian animosity into public life, of which a beginning has already been made'.⁵ This is clearly a reference to the PAS which was starting to make its mark on Edinburgh politics.

The other important national anti-Roman Catholic organisation in Scotland is the Orange Order which was and is committed to opposing the influence of the Roman Catholic Church but it did not want to be associated with the PAS. Because of its organisation and constitution the Order has extensive records in its minutes of meetings and annual reports which deal not only with administrative detail but also record discussion of local problems and central policy. The central body for Scotland, the Grand Lodge, has a library where considerable material is available but at the time of my research it had not been organised to make access easy. However, I was able to trace Cormack's troubled relationship with the Order, which I discuss in chapter 6, pp. 209-212. It is clear that Cormack considered himself more than just another member of the Order but that the leadership could accept him only as a subordinate. The PAS was a more substantial

presence in Edinburgh than the Order, as is shown in chapter 6 and to an extent challenged its position in the area. Cormack's relationship with the Orange Order can be seen from the Order's records and from his own statements in his memoirs published in the *Protestant Telegraph*, 11 January to 22 February 1969. The records also indicate the fractious relations of the Order with the Conservative Party.⁶ Membership figures for the Order are notoriously difficult to find but I was able to get some estimates for the Edinburgh area from the Rev. Gordon McCracken, a one time Deputy Grand Master of the Order who was engaged in research for a history of the Order in Scotland.

In Scottish Office files held in the NAS, street action by the PAS is described as 'counter demonstrations' (see chapter 6. p. 247). The question that arises is what did they counter? Were the Roman Catholic events which the PAS marked with demonstrations just the normal meetings and ceremonies of the Church or were they, as some thought, demonstrations of the strength of the Church in Scotland? As noted above, the PAS street action and the Roman Catholic response to them is dealt with extensively in the local and national archives. Because of the link between RC activity in the 1930s and Cormack I consulted the Scottish Catholic Archives in Edinburgh to obtain some insight into the Roman Catholic authorities' involvement and aims in connection with events of these years, the honouring by the city of Roman Catholic personages, the reception for the Catholic Young Men's Society, the Eucharistic Congress and the pilgrimages but the archives did not contain this sort of information. There are no records of debates on policy within the diocese. The Keeper of the Archives, Dr Christine Johnston, was very helpful in providing information on the period, but she explained that the records she

had were to do with the administration of the Archdiocese – finance and property and with the education and provision of priests. I was therefore left to speculate on the aims of the RC church in these years. However I was able to access such other material relating to the 1930s as was available in the records, particularly *ad clerums*, letters to the clergy issued by Archbishop McDonald, some of which related to significant events of the period such as the Eucharistic Congress of 1935 and the pilgrimages that were deemed controversial by some in the 1930s. (see chapter 4 pp. 131-132) The Archbishop, subject to Canon Law and Vatican direction, made decisions which he communicated to the clergy and laity. Although there are references in the archives to important organisations within the Church such as Catholic Action and the Catholic Young Men's Society there are no formal records of their deliberations or activities in the archdiocese. It was not possible, therefore, to reach categorical conclusions about any purpose behind the events which led to the PAS demonstrations. However, the letters to the clergy did give some indication of the importance Archbishop McDonald placed on demonstrations of the strength of the Church in Scotland and made the description of PAS street actions as 'counter demonstrations' seem plausible.

The records of the PAS seem to have been lost with the demise of the organisation. These might have provided records of proceedings throwing light on the party's decision making. However, if the Procurator Fiscal of Edinburgh is correct in his view that Cormack was 'an absolute dictator' (see chapter 6, p. 208) they might not. The most informative source for the party's beliefs and activities, apart from the local press, are copies of the party journal, *Protestant 'Action'*, held in the Edinburgh Room of

Edinburgh Central Library and I was able to have unlimited access to this material. For Cormack the traditional version of history was an essential resource. His use of it in the party journal *Protestant 'Action'* and in his speeches was central to his appeal. He assumed, apparently correctly, that this history had gone a long way to form the mindset of native Scots and that they would respond appropriately. The earlier history legitimated his campaign, justifying the vehemence of his rhetoric by reference to religious persecution and the martyrs resulting from it. Respectability was conferred by the more recent history of the involvement of the Presbyterian churches in anti-Roman Catholic activity and the ongoing campaign by these church leaders in the campaign for a curb on Irish immigration. This use of history gave Cormack a base of tradition on which to build his case for blaming Irish RC immigrants and their families for poor housing and other social conditions and for unemployment. His undoubted charisma drew the crowds, he used history to hold them and provide justification for the action he urged. There are no records of Cormack's addresses to the crowds he drew to his meetings but I was able to interview two people who had attended meetings at which he spoke. One, a member of the Living Memory Association of Edinburgh, attended PAS rallies as a young man. The other was a member of the PAS in the 1950s and is now an office bearer in the Orange Order. As reported in chapter 6, both confirmed the Cormack's reputation as an effective orator.

My conclusions in the thesis are based first of all on my conviction that people make history but history, particularly the kind of folk history not consciously learned, plays a large part in shaping the mindset of the people. History is important and a version of it

can be used to influence the way that people act. Some conclusions, such as those on the attitudes and actions of the authorities in Edinburgh in relation to the PAS, are based on firm evidence in the primary sources. In the same way the relationship of Cormack to the Orange Order is clear from the contemporary records. The non-involvement with the Church of Scotland can be inferred from the lack of evidence in the otherwise comprehensive records of that organisation. What we do not know is whether the Church in a sense made a decision not to have anything to do with him nor to give formal cognisance to the activities of the PAS thus, in a way, reducing the effect of these actions. The argument for the RC Church's part in the events of the mid 1930s is more speculative. Archbishop McDonald's reaction to PAS actions are recorded in his correspondence with the Scottish Office and the press. There appear, however, to be no archdiocesan records setting out reasons for staging certain events in Edinburgh at this time. My conclusions arise from interpretation of his motives.

Notes to Preface

- 1 Ministry of Labour Annual Abstract of Labour Statistics and the Local Unemployment Index published monthly.
- 2 City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh Housing (Scotland) Act 1935, Report on Overcrowding by the Medical Officer of Health and Sanitary Inspector (Edinburgh, 1936).
- 3 NAS, HH 1/777, SO file 5415/131.
- 4 NAS, HH 1/541, SO file 32693.
- 5 Reports of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1935, Report of the Committee on Church Interests, pp. 570-581 (p. 579).
- 6 The main records are Reports of the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of the Grand Lodge Committee.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to show that the phenomenon of John Cormack (1894-1978) and the Protestant Action Society (PAS) in Edinburgh in the 1930s was not an aberration, a freak incident, but a chapter in the continuing development of Scottish cultural identity. It came about due to the influence of the history, particularly its religious aspects, of Scotland generally and Edinburgh in particular, and the political, social and economic conditions of the time. Cormack was the catalyst who created ferment from these elements. Anti-Catholicism had been a feature of British society since the Reformation in the sixteenth century and there are important elements of continuity and similarity between its manifestations in different periods; its persistence, strength and nature is an indication of the social, political and religious conditions of each particular time.¹ It is my contention that the PAS in the 1930s could only achieve the political success it had by building on established beliefs and sentiments created as part of the national consciousness of the people by the history of their forebears from the time of the Reformation. The struggles to maintain their version of the reformed faith, Presbyterianism, in the seventeenth century, the Jacobite scares of the eighteenth century and the social turmoil of the nineteenth century consequent upon the immigration of great numbers of people from preponderantly Roman Catholic Ireland formed a history whose influence was inescapable. It is a history of which there have been frequent reminders in recent and contemporary literature and events.²

The thesis also provides a counter to a conception of Roman Catholics in Scotland in the early twentieth century as a disadvantaged group in society, subject to 'systematic discrimination' who 'in the face of harassment and injustice did not assert themselves'.³ Despite the reality of their relative poverty, at all times they had been seen by Protestants as assertive and often threatening to those not of their faith, certainly in the early days of reformed religion as threatening, and later never less than assertive. After all, the Roman Catholic Church teaches that it is uniquely the possessor of the truth and, since the truth must prevail, considered that everyone would in time have to acknowledge the one true faith; this stance was understood by contemporaries in 1930s Scotland. Throughout the text the term Roman Catholic or RC is used. This is the formal title used by the Vatican and is more accurate than Catholic, a term used by other Christian bodies. The Church of Scotland claims to be the Catholic Church Reformed in Scotland. The Scottish Episcopal Church claims that historically it has at least as much right to be the Catholic Reformed Church in Scotland as its Presbyterian brethren.⁴ Also the term Roman Catholic recognises the perceived foreignness of the Church to which a major objection was its direction from Rome.

The Function of Religion

The accusation that the church is interfering in politics is a commonplace of politicians. However, religion always has had social and political relevance. Indeed it is argued, with justification, that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland acted as a parliament for Scotland after the union of 1707. More generally, as Gordon Donaldson has pointed out, the church's penitential system, the idea of penalties following from sin,

facilitated the introduction of penalties for crime. There was scriptural approval of powers of punishment exercised by the civil magistrate.⁵ The early Romans respected all religions which 'were considered by the people, as equally true:...by the magistrate, as equally useful'.⁶ Useful, that is, as a means of maintaining order. Machiavelli recognised the place of religion in the governance of peoples, noting that the observance of divine worship was the cause of greatness in republics, the neglect of it was the state's ruin. He did not think it necessary for the ruler to believe in religion since it was at worst rank superstition, at best merely a guide to good citizenship.⁷ A maxim attributed to Napoleon is that religion is not the mystery of the incarnation, but the secret of social order. Throughout the ages it has been a function of religion to keep the people in order, inculcating a moral sense and respect for the laws, religious and civil, enforcing standards of behaviour suitable to a godly society. Religion, in its various forms, serves as part of the ideology of all societies. Consequently, religion and secular politics are intimately linked. The period of the Reformation provides many clear examples of this.⁸ It was a heritage that John Cormack and the PAS exploited to the full. Linda Colley has argued convincingly that the wars with France in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries forged a sense of Britishness among the English, Scots and Welsh who 'defined themselves as Protestants struggling for survival against the world's foremost Catholic power'.⁹ It was not that they ceased to consider themselves English, Scots or Welsh but that they came to acknowledge a collective British nationality in response to a common external threat. Britishness, with its essential Protestantism, was a problematic concept for the majority RC population of Ireland and they remained apart.

No Popery - An Effective Political Slogan

One of the longest lasting, effective political slogans has been that of 'No Popery'. It has recurred regularly since John Wycliff denounced the Pope as Antichrist in the fifteenth century.¹⁰ Direct criticism of the Pope was a prominent feature of the theses Martin Luther published at Wittenberg in 1517. The following year he wrote to a fellow friar, 'I am right in suspecting the court of Rome of being governed by the real Antichrist'.¹¹ Luther's campaign was essentially part of a dispute within the church about its administration and what he saw as the blasphemous practice of the sale of indulgences, but, as V.H.H. Green points out, 'it was assisted, indeed largely made possible, by secular developments'.¹² It succeeded in those parts of the old Holy Roman Empire, the definitive political expression of the Roman Catholic Church, where the ruling princes were opposed to the Emperor and saw political advantage in the religious protest. They resented the influence and revenue raising activities of both the Pope and the Emperor. The rise of the nation state as the ideal social grouping also was a factor in the desire of rulers to lessen papal control over church appointments and education. Luther survived excommunication and an Imperial edict that he be arrested as a heretic, effectively a sentence of death, because he had the support of his prince, the Elector of Saxony. The intimate relationship of politics and religion was acknowledged by the Treaty of Augsburg in 1555 which granted princes the right to decide their state religion, Roman Catholic or Lutheran. In Sweden, Gustavus Vasa took advantage of the religious troubles, espoused the Lutheran cause and made himself not only undisputed ruler of the country but also, like Henry VIII in England, the head of the church. Confiscation of church land and its redistribution to the nobles ensured their co-operation. 'No Popery'

had proven an effective political as well as a religious battle-cry throughout Europe.

The times of the Reformation and the seventeenth century religious wars in Europe are long past. Those countries where the reformed version of the Christian religion has been firmly established for centuries are stable and sufficiently confident of their faith to practise religious tolerance although there are still controversies about contraception, abortion and divorce. Mainland Britain might be described as particularly relaxed in regard to the freedom granted to all residents to worship in their fashion. However, this confidence has taken centuries to forge. Fear of a return to power of the Roman Church persisted long after the Reformation and the cry of 'No Popery' has resonated through the ages. In the seventeenth century it was at the centre of the concerns of Scots who resisted the attempts of the later Stuart kings to force an Episcopal Church and finally a return of Roman Catholicism on an unwilling nation. The Jacobite threats and rebellions of the first half of the eighteenth century occasioned alarm among Presbyterians to whom Charles Edward Stuart was a 'Popish Italian prince'.¹³ In the Scottish opposition to the Roman Catholic Relief Bill during the period 1778-1782 'No Popery' was a popular rallying cry of the protesters demonstrating against the bill. Remarkably the worst riots were in Edinburgh and Glasgow though very few RCs lived in these towns.¹⁴ The Parliamentary elections of 1807 and 1826 featured cries of 'No Popery' and in 1846 and 1847 T.B. Macaulay was opposed in General Elections for an Edinburgh seat by 'No Popery' candidates. He was defeated in 1847.¹⁵ John Hope's Leith Anti-Popery Classes in the mid-nineteenth century and Jacob Primmer's anti-Popery conventicles in the last years of the century continued the 'No Popery' tradition.¹⁶ The Working Men's

Evangelistic Association was formed in 1870 'to stem the tide of Popery in Glasgow'.¹⁷ In late nineteenth and early twentieth century the Presbyterian churches' campaign for a curb on immigration from Ireland was anti-Roman Catholic and was accompanied by political action from 'No Popery' parties like Alexander Ratchliffe's Scottish Protestant League in Edinburgh in the 1920s and Glasgow in the 1930s.¹⁸ Even from these brief highlights the lineage of John Cormack's PAS in Edinburgh is long and clear. It is from the popular conception of these events that memory is created. The opposition to Roman Catholicism, 'No Popery', was a factor in the creation of the native Scots identity. This history was a resource which Cormack exploited to the full.

Forming the Protestant Action Society

Fears of resurgence of Roman Catholicism still had resonance in Britain in living memory as the history of the Protestant Action Society will show and it is necessary to consider why these feelings should persist with such intensity in relation to what is nowadays generally regarded as a personal matter of faith. The record of the travails of people in England and especially Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the reformed religion was sustained only at great human and economic cost provides some explanation. Their experience of social and economic turmoil during the industrial revolution in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, exacerbated by the mass immigration of near destitute Irish during that period and into the twentieth century is another required ingredient in the understanding of the continuing dread of Popery.

The PAS raised a large part of the electorate to sometimes fervid action with a

programme of anti-Roman Catholicism in a decade when many working people in Edinburgh and Leith experienced exceptional economic hardship due to unemployment, living in overcrowded, substandard housing. A 1936 survey of some 100,000 homes in the city found 19.82% of the houses to be overcrowded. In an earlier report 6,740 were deemed unfit for habitation.¹⁹ Cormack, who created the Society, was in some ways a very ordinary Edinburgh man with limited education but was greatly influenced by his experience in the army, particularly in the security force formed to combat terrorism in Ireland during the troubled period after the 1914-18 war. He claimed his aim to be the elimination of the influence of the RC Church but the effect of Protestant Action was felt mainly by ordinary RCs, many of whom could not understand the animosity their presence aroused except as antipathy to them as Irish, which as we shall see most were either directly or by descent. But there was more to the ideas and beliefs commonly held by the non-RC population than resentment of the Irish incomers. They had roots in the history of Scotland, indeed of Britain, from the days of the Reformation. This is of great importance to my argument and is why I have given considerable attention to an account of what may be termed the traditional version of that history in chapter 2. The thesis, then, is a review of how the collective consciousness of those who considered themselves to be native Scots had been affected by the dramatic and sometimes traumatic events that shaped the political and religious nation, the reaction to the arrival and settlement of Irish RC immigrants in Presbyterian Scotland and the use of this history as a galvaniser of political action in the social and economic conditions of the 1930s. Immigrant Irish Protestants had been absorbed easily into Scottish society as had English and Welsh immigrants who, by the second generation, were indistinguishable

from their hosts. An appreciation of this historical background is necessary in trying to reach an understanding of why there was such support for what may have been the last concerted anti-RC political campaign to be carried out in Scotland.

The records of historical conditions and events which have survived from earlier times are essentially those left by rulers and the upper reaches of society. There is a considerable problem in the consideration of how the mass of the common people felt about conditions and events since they left few records. In the earliest times with which we are concerned here riots, or crowd action, were their only effective way of expressing their concerns. E P Thompson found that 'in almost every eighteenth-century crowd action...the men and women in the crowd were informed by the belief that they were defending traditional rights or customs'.²⁰ Later, with the spread of literacy and the use of printing, newspapers, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, have provided a source of information.²¹ The press tries to influence but it also reflects public opinion. The content of newspapers, reports, editorial matter and correspondence is indicative of current anxieties and preoccupations. Attendance at rallies, demonstrations and commemorative gatherings also give an indication of what the mass of the people felt. Charles Tilly has shown that from the nineteenth century these events were part of the repertoire of collective action and were 'direct challenges to rivals or authorities' and that there was a 'preference for action in visible public places'.²² PAS activities fit well with this analysis. Even accepting that the excitement of the occasion itself generates interest the reason for the event is crucial in gaining public attention. In the twentieth century with the extension of the franchise most adults could be involved in the political

process and the way that votes were cast is an important indication of popular feeling but public political and social protest was still relevant for those who believed that they could not get redress within the formal political forum, groups such as the suffragettes, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and the unemployed. The thesis also assesses the evidence from outwith the formal political process.

Review of Literature

There is a wealth of material available for the study of that part of the history of Scotland which forms the background to this thesis, from the reformation of religion in the sixteenth century to the events in Edinburgh in the 1930s. Official records varying from Acts of the Scottish Parliament 1124 – 1567 to minutes of meetings of Edinburgh Town Council in the 1930s provide a factual background. Contemporary writings of people involved in the political and religious actions of their times, John Knox's *History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1949), Robert Baillie's *Letters and Journals: Containing an Impartial Account of Public Transactions...from the beginning of the Civil Wars in 1637 to the year 1662* (Edinburgh, 1775), Lord Fountainhall's in *Chronological Notes of Scottish Affairs from 1680 – 1701* (Edinburgh, 1822) and John Cormack's memoirs, 'My Hectic Life' (1969), give an immediacy to their view of the history of these events.²³ Secondary sources, academic and other histories and analyses, are also primary evidence of views and attitudes of the periods in which they were written. Robert Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution* (1721 – 1722) was re-issued in 1836 when anxiety for the future of Presbyterianism was acute.²⁴ The popularity over many

years of martyrologies such as John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments of these Latter Days* (1563), known as the Book of Martyrs, and John Howie, *The Scots Worthies* (1775), which are also declarations of faith, is evidence of their continuing relevance.

Newspaper reports and editorials are often the most important primary sources of information on what ordinary people felt about and how they reacted to matters that affected them. The subject matter of other reading material, such as chapbooks of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, is another indication of what interested the general public in these days.²⁵ Official records and reports available through the National Archives of Scotland are important sources of information on reaction to events, particularly police reports of street action, and these are an essential part of the examination of PAS activity in chapter 6.

Recent monographs have also been useful in finding the context for the version of history that was so great a part of PAS propaganda. Michael Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (1981), provides a comprehensive account of a town that witnessed religious conflict resulting in street disturbances that had parallels in the 1930s.

Anthony Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (1985), has shown how enduring was the fear and dislike of Roman Catholicism in Britain in the seventeenth century and how pervasive was the belief in a 'papist conspiracy', the same 'conspiracy' that so exercised John Cormack and his followers in the 1930s. Ian B. Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters, 1660 – 1688* (1976) provides an even-handed relation of the events that brought an end to Stuart rule yet confirms in large part the case made against Charles II and James II as persecutors of Presbyterians by earlier, more polemic writers

like John Howie, which made them the 'perfidious Stuart kings' in the language of leading articles in the PAS journal *Protestant 'Action'* which are discussed in chapter 6. For the nineteenth century T.C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People 1830 – 1950* (1987) gives a clear, if bleak, picture of the social and economic condition of the Scottish working class in these years, providing a context for the effect of large scale Irish immigration. Alan B. Campbell, *The Lanarkshire Miners: A Social History of their Trade Unions, 1775 – 1874* (1979), besides providing a detailed description of the living and working conditions of miners and their families, has a chapter on 'The Irish', pp. 178-201, surveying the problems experienced in parts of the county with high levels of RC immigrants which goes some way to make the persistence of anti-Roman Catholicism into the next century understandable. Callum Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (1987), provides an account of the development of the Protestant churches and the growth in parallel of the Irish immigrant community and the RC Church in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, noting what he terms 'waves of approved anti-Catholic agitation from the Church of Scotland and other churches'. He notes that 'official Catholic policy in Scotland in the 1980s is still to meet Protestant bigotry by the Church keeping a low profile'.²⁶ This is not how the PAS and others regarded RC policy and actions in Edinburgh in the 1930s, which they considered aggressive and provocative (as is brought out in chapter 6). Callum Brown is perceptive on the evidence for a decline in both Protestant and RC Churches in Scotland in the twentieth century and the growth of other religions and religious movements.²⁷

Stewart Jay Brown in "'Outside the Covenant': The Scottish Presbyterian Churches and Irish Immigration 1922-1938', considers the campaign by Scottish Presbyterian churches for restriction on the immigration of Irish RCs and repeal or revision of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918, noting the fallacy in the immigration argument – the rate of immigration had fallen to 'a mere trickle'.²⁸ He stresses that the campaign was pursued not as a religious matter but as one of national interest, the Irish RC immigrants being seen as an alien race, whose presence was having a deleterious effect on the moral and social behaviour of native Scots. Most of the campaign issues were related to economic and social conditions, particularly employment and welfare relief. To Brown it seemed that the purpose of the campaign was 'to revive the Church's waning social authority by uniting the Scottish people against a religious and ethnic minority....which they sought to make the scapegoat for Scotland's post-war ills'.²⁹ This seems less than fair to the people who took part in the campaign. However mistaken they may have been, they appear to have been sincere. The moral and social welfare of the people had always been seen as within the remit of the Presbyterian churches. Those who followed the true religion, ie Protestantism, would lead morally and socially good lives. The church leaders were, in any case, articulating fears and concerns commonly held in Scotland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as will be brought out in chapters 3 and 4. Brown points out that 'no major political party gave the campaign its support'.³⁰ Given the importance of the RC vote in some constituencies in Scotland this is not surprising. Undoubtedly the Presbyterian leaders played on national sentiment in their campaign but it has to be acknowledged that it was the religion of the incomers that made them unwelcome. Protestant immigrants, from whatever part of Ireland they originated,

appear to have been accepted. The Presbyterian churches' campaign is an illustration of how closely linked are politics and religion. Brown cites 'popular nativism'³¹ as the reason for the well attended demonstrations in the 1920s and 1930s but this is not enough to explain the support that John Cormack had in Edinburgh in the 1930s. It was not just the Irish origins of the immigrant community that raised concern but their religion and its place in traditional Scottish history that had made anti-Roman Catholicism seem a norm to so many. This interesting relationship of nationalism and religion is examined by Richard J. Finlay in 'Nationalism, Race, Religion and the Irish Question in Inter-War Scotland'. He sees the Irish Question as being divisive in the nationalist movement generally and in the development of the Scottish National Party in the 1930s, some factions admiring the Irish Free State others deploring the breaking up of the United Kingdom. Surprisingly, despite the influence of religious controversy elsewhere he concluded that 'in assessing the roles of religion, race and the Irish question in the political development of Scottish nationalism....it can be said that religion was the least influential of these factors in shaping nationalist politics'.³² Political aims could unite across the religious divide and this is important in the discussion of political involvement of the Orange Order in Chapter 4.

Hilaire Belloc and others writing in the 1920s and 1930s claimed that most accepted history writing of the past two centuries had been anti-catholic but that was changing. He wrote, 'Protestant history and, therefore our official history, such as is taught in the English universities and has spread through English literature in textbooks and fiction gave a thoroughly wrong perspective of this (the life of Mary Queen of Scots) as of

every other essential matter in the English Reformation'.³³ In 1936 the novelist Compton Mackenzie, a RC convert, wrote a history of Roman Catholicism in Scotland which controverted the traditional view of the actors in the events leading up to the Reformation. He described Cardinal Beaton as standing 'with Wallace and Bruce...among the great patriots' and Mary of Guise as 'a wise and tolerant woman with the interests of her adopted country at heart'.³⁴ Such versions of history, as Belloc indicates, were not typical of the historiography of the time. In the second half of the twentieth century there have been many contributions to more academic historiography re-evaluating the part played by the religious contestants in the history of Scotland since the Reformation. It is not suggested that there is undue bias in these works, merely that they examine aspects of history from different viewpoints from those of many earlier historians. *The Innes Review* published in two issues during 1959, the fourth centenary of the Reformation in Scotland, a series of essays dealing with events of the Reformation period. They were later published in book form in which the editor wrote, 'the history presented in these essays is somewhat different from the simple "traditional" stories which have long been accepted by one side or another in the writing of ecclesiastical history'.³⁵ Commenting that it is 'a cherished delusion of the Scots' that the reformation was carried out by Presbyterians, Gordon Donaldson has stressed the role of the episcopacy, tracing the part played by bishops in the reformation of religion in Galloway, Orkney and Shetland and in Caithness and Sutherland.³⁶ Michael Lynch's study of Edinburgh during the time of the Reformation, referred to above, gave a sympathetic picture of RCs in the town at that time and made a case for Mary Queen of Scots as a monarch who practised a degree of religious tolerance in an age when that

was most unusual.³⁷ Martin J. Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797-1848* (1998), chronicles the involvement of Irish immigrants in industrial action and political radicalism in Scotland in these years and suggests that 'the immigrant experience was perhaps somewhat different to the standard view'.³⁸ In *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* (1999) T.M. Devine reviewed the role of Irish RC immigrants and their descendants in his history of Scotland since 1700 stressing their contribution to the country's industrial progress. In chapter 21 he considers the problems of integration or for some time failure to integrate, of the RC component of the 'Irish Invasion'. In the same chapter he notes the ready, successful assimilation of Irish Protestant immigrants.³⁹ There is no doubt that social and economic conditions were important factors and without the stresses created by difficult times integration would have been easier but it is important to recognise that it was the difference in religion that made it possible for Irish RCs and their descendants to be stigmatised as alien for so long.

A significant feature of the early works considered here is the way that anti-Roman Catholicism was seen to have been fostered over the centuries so that for many it became an accepted part of being Scottish. In the later works concerning the nineteenth century and after there is an acceptance of a common perception by both RCs and Presbyterians of the separateness of the Irish RCs from the rest of the population. These two factors contributed very largely to the success of the PAS. Anti-Roman Catholicism was an historic fact but it would have been much more difficult to stir the crowds to action against people who were accepted as part of the community.

However, the strand of historiography that concerns us here is that sweep of historical writing about Scotland since the Reformation, in which Presbyterian Scots struggled against the attempts of rulers and others to impose another form of religion on them, which became part of folk-memory. It is a history that owes much to oral tradition with its garnish of myth and as David McCrone observed, 'Myth draws selectively from the past, but its key purpose is to provide a contemporary reservoir of legitimisation for belief and action'.⁴⁰ The influence of this version of history and its use by John Cormack goes a long way to account for the popular support gained by the PAS in Edinburgh in the 1930s. Chapter 2 and part of chapter 3 are not an attempt to validate a version of history but merely to set out what I take to be the basis of the popular version of history that went to create the mindset of the majority of Scots in the early twentieth century.

The Rev. John Dunlop, reviewing the sectarian conflict in Ireland wrote:

It is characteristic of communal memory to sift through the stories and remember only those parts which sustain one's own community. It seems that communities find stories of massacre and suffering to be solid material for sustaining community memory and community solidarity, provided that one's own community is the victim community. Selective memory, in turn, feeds contemporary enmity.⁴¹

Recent Studies in the Field

The anti-RC politics of the 1920s and 1930s in Edinburgh and Glasgow are addressed in studies by Tom Gallagher and Steve Bruce.⁴² In *Edinburgh Divided* Gallagher accepts that the issue is religion and that folk memory of the history of religious dispute formed

part of the background to the twentieth century conflict. The existence of RC enclaves is also accepted as a hindrance to integration into the host community. However he makes the Cormack episode in Edinburgh's history too much a matter of personality. He says rightly that 'Protestant Action's very existence as a popular movement hinged on the presence of its leader who derived his authority from his magnetism and from the power of his oratory'.⁴³ But he gives insufficient acknowledgement of Cormack and the PAS as a product of both history and the current political, social and economic conditions. He does not acknowledge adequately the effect of the traditional history of Protestantism in Britain, and particularly Scotland, the sufferings of the common people in the persecution of heretics in the 16th century, the attempts to impose an episcopal system on Scotland in the 17th century, the Jacobite scares of the 18th century and the immigration of large numbers of Irish RCs in the 19th and 20th centuries. As this history or the folk memory of it had a central role in conditioning the working class people in Edinburgh to be receptive to the PAS message it is necessary to have an account of it to understand Cormack's success. It was the basis of the formation of national identity and fundamental to the PAS, justification for their anti-Roman Catholicism and an ever present constituent of the party's propaganda. Gallagher places inadequate emphasis on the social and economic hardship that was a central fact of life for many working people in Edinburgh in the 1930s and was linked by Cormack with the presence of Irish RCs. Consequently, he does not give sufficient weight to the correlation between improving conditions and waning of support for the PAS, putting it down simply to 'the party's declining credibility'.⁴⁴ But it is an important consideration. Cormack was a product of his country's history and the social conditions of the time in which he lived.

Gallagher says of Cormack, 'he was a vital catalyst who demonstrated that even in the absence of deep and readily understood divisions, a city or community can almost be torn apart by the sudden emergence of a charismatic figure who can move ordinary people to deeds which they would never normally contemplate'.⁴⁵ But the thesis presented here is that there were 'deep and readily understood divisions'. Cormack did not create the distrust of Roman Catholicism or the dislike of Irish RCs. These were historic and part of the mental make-up of many Edinburgh people. One of Gallagher's informants for 'Protestant Extremism in Urban Scotland 1930-1938' said of Cormack, 'he did not have to convert many to his (anti-catholic) views, they were already latently held'.⁴⁶ In the same article Gallagher says, 'the immigrants were victimised for their religion, anti-social behaviour, or wretched status but not for their unscottishness'.⁴⁷ But he himself has noted that in the two generations up to 1921, Irish RC immigrants and their descendants, most of whom had never been to Ireland, had formed their political identity in the Home Rule (for Ireland) movement. He commented, 'to identify so completely with the Irish Home Rule cause was as much a sign of alienation from the Scottish social system as a positive identification with Ireland'.⁴⁸ Gallagher also says Cormack singled out a minority and made it 'a scapegoat for problems which had not previously been ascribed to it'.⁴⁹ The problems are not specified but, as we shall see, for decades before Cormack's arrival, Irish RCs had been accused of taking jobs away from native Scots, creating slum conditions and disproportionate criminality, all part of the PAS case against them. Regarding the immediate context of the PAS campaign, Gallagher says that, 'the fact that the middle of 1935 rather unusually witnessed a series

of important religious occasions was also fortuitous'.⁵⁰ There is a question, addressed in chapter 6, whether these events were merely fortuitous or were due to the deliberately challenging assertive promotion of his faith by the Archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh, Andrew Joseph McDonald. Gallagher himself says of Eucharistic Congresses, one of which was held in Edinburgh in 1935, that they were 'relatively common in the 1920s and 1930s when the Church felt it necessary to mount shows of strength'.⁵¹ Cormack did not alone create the situations which caused such concern in Edinburgh in the 1930s. Regarding the establishment's reaction to the PAS, Gallagher says, 'the fact that no major Edinburgh institution such as the Kirk, the police or the press took a major stand against Cormack or consistently sought to deflect public attention away from him is something else that causes apprehension even at a distance of fifty years'.⁵² From the editorial content and the reportage of the Edinburgh papers, the *Scotsman*, *Evening News* and *Dispatch* of the 1930s, as is brought in chapters 6 and 7, it is clear that they consistently attacked the PAS, making adverse comment on its actions and political campaigns. As regards the police, they are not meant to take a stand against anyone, but to keep the peace and deal with law-breakers. As will be seen in chapter 6 Scottish Office records show that the police closely monitored PAS meetings and actions. Press reports indicate that the police effectively controlled the demonstrations, arresting some people, including Cormack himself, keeping down violence and minimising damage to persons and property. This also is dealt with in chapter 6. Gallagher denies a tradition of anti-Catholicism in Edinburgh and Leith but as we shall see both history and contemporary comment show that it existed and was important in the city in the 1930s. As regards the RC Church in Edinburgh during the

1930s Gallagher sees only a defensive stance but that is not how contemporary opponents of Roman Catholicism perceived the situation.

The sociologist Steve Bruce, in his consideration of militant Protestantism in modern Scotland, concentrates his review of the history on the nineteenth century. He sees the hitherto harmonious relations enjoyed by the numerically insignificant residual native RCs with the overwhelming Presbyterian majority changed by the arrival of immigrant Irish RCs resulting in an anti-catholicism which was 'essentially anti-Irish'. As evidence of the easy relations he cites the situation in the Inner Hebrides during the late eighteenth century when people attended the service of 'whichever minister RC or Presbyterian' got to the island.⁵³ It is the only instance he gives of this easy relationship and it is to argue from a very special case. Anti-Roman Catholicism was strong in central Scotland during the eighteenth century, as Donovan found. He notes 'remembered bitternesses, present fears, and suspicion of dangers yet to come from relentless adversaries'.⁵⁴ Just these feelings are reflected in the content of the PAS journal *Protestant 'Action'* and Cormack's speeches in the 1930s. There was still a folk memory of the bitterness of earlier religious conflict and fear of the Church of Rome. It is wrong to see anti-Roman Catholicism as really anti-Irish since Irish Protestant immigrants seem not have met with such antipathy, merging easily with their religious brethren as Alan B. Campbell found.⁵⁵ The PAS journal, in reference to hostility to Irish immigrants, makes the point that it is wrong to speak of 'the Irish collectively in this context, 'the Irish Protestant is a loyalist. It is the Papists who are a problem'.⁵⁶ At one point Bruce claims that there was an 'absence of any active anti-catholicism from a large part of the leadership' of the

Presbyterian churches.⁵⁷ He bases this on his analyses of the less than united opposition by Presbyterians to Roman Catholic emancipation in the nineteenth century but fails to acknowledge that one reason for this was that some Presbyterians supported toleration because 'they thought variety of opinion and open speculation would help Catholics reach a higher, essentially Protestant truth in religion', and considered that relief might be 'a more effective means than penal law for weaning Catholics from falsehood'.⁵⁸ The Knox Club, formed in 1909, which had as one of its objectives 'to resist the efforts of the Roman Church to regain its influence in Scotland', was supported by the Presbyterian church leaders of the time including, among others, the moderators of the Church of Scotland, the United Free Church and the Free Church.⁵⁹ The Church of Scotland was in the forefront of the campaign to limit Irish immigration in early twentieth century which was clearly anti-Roman Catholic. A church committee reporting to the General Assembly on the subject said, 'They remain a people by themselves, segregated by their race, their customs, their traditions, and, above all by their loyalty to their Church'.⁶⁰ This view of the Irish RC community in Scotland, which for some people still seems to have been an accurate description of the situation in the 1920s and 1930s, is endorsed by Tom Gallagher who says of Scoto-Irish RCs that 'these descendants of Irish immigrants had never been properly assimilated'.⁶¹ Bruce, rather surprisingly, claims that 'the Irish were readily assimilated into Scottish society'.⁶² The events of the 1930s in Edinburgh tend to side with Gallagher, showing that assimilation was far from complete, otherwise the PAS could not have found the support it did. Bruce gives attention to the more colourful anti-RC campaigners, James Begg (1808-1883), John Hope (1807-1893) and Jacob Primmer (1842-1914), dismissing them as unrepresentative and ultimately

failing.⁶³ But these men struck a chord with many ordinary people in Scotland with their appeal to old traditions, particularly Primmer with his evocation of the Covenanting days. It is this reaction of mainly working class people to the cry of 'No Popery' that is so significant in Cormack's success in the 1930s. Bruce's central concern is with the internal divisions in the various Protestant movements, particularly in the twentieth century, to which he attributes their relative ineffectiveness.⁶⁴ The section of the work dealing with Cormack and the PAS in the 1930s does not adequately connect his campaign to the historical background.⁶⁵ Nor does it take account of the economic and social conditions which played such an important part in conditioning so many to accept the scapegoating of Irish RCs in the 1930s.

Outline of Chapters

The following chapters seek to provide the background to, and some explanation for, the political success of the 'No Popery' campaign by John Cormack's Protestant Action Society in 1930s Edinburgh. In Chapter 2 the historical background to anti-Roman Catholicism in Scotland and England is reviewed from the period of the Reformation of religion, through the various attempts to re-establish Roman Catholicism as the state religion both by internal action and invasion by foreign powers. The chapter shows how for each of the two nations a national consciousness was formed in which the reformed religion was a defining factor. The concept of the Pope as the implacable foe of Protestants, constantly seeking to dominate, which was forged in these times, continued to influence attitudes to Roman Catholicism in the twentieth century and was an important theme in Cormack's 'No Popery' campaign. The history of persecution of

religious dissidents by RC rulers and the resultant Protestant martyrologies have resonated over the centuries. For both nations attempts in the seventeenth century to re-introduce Roman Catholicism or to introduce what were perceived as popish forms into the reformed religion, particularly the resistance of Scottish Presbyterians to the imposition of an English style Episcopal church, added a new dimension and more martyrs. Reminders of these times formed a major part of Protestant Action Society propaganda. In Chapter 3 particular attention is paid to the crucial later development of very large-scale immigration of Irish Roman Catholics in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and the concomitant revival of the Roman Catholic Church in Britain as a whole, but particularly in Scotland where Irish immigrants and their descendants, although still a small minority in the country, formed a much larger proportion of the population than in England. In some parts of west central Scotland concentrations of these incomers meant that they were a substantial minority of the local population. At the 1881 Census 27.9% of the population of Port Glasgow had been born in Ireland. For Greenock and Glasgow the figures were 16.1% and 13.1% respectively.⁶⁶ If the offspring of these immigrants were included in their number the proportions would be considerably higher. In this period, what had become traditional anti-Roman Catholicism was overlaid with fear and suspicion of Irish RCs who, because of their very presence in such large numbers, were transforming the host society. In Scotland resistance to the Roman Church had been a central activity of Presbyterians. The Church of Scotland and other Presbyterian denominations led the anti-Popery activity that characterised the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Cormack continued the tradition, he did not create a new sectarianism although he gave

it a new slant. Chapter 4 considers this period during which there was alarm as the Roman Church raised an ever higher profile and it seemed to many Scots their concerns were ignored by the Westminster parliament because the problem was not as acute in England. The economic, social and religious conditions of the nineteen twenties and nineteen thirties in Europe were crucial in creating the conditions in which political organisations offering drastic solutions to common problems arose and flourished. In each case they were able to exploit the peculiar circumstances of the national states in which they were formed. The PAS was a product of the social, economic and religious situation in Scotland and Chapter 5 will show how these conditions created the immediate setting of Edinburgh in these decades. Chapter 6 examines the events of the PAS demonstrations and other publicity and the reasons for their effectiveness. Tom Gallagher and Bob Purdie say that Leith, where Cormack started his career in local politics, had no tradition of 'No Popery'⁶⁷ but this is belied by the history of the town and the support that John Cormack had on the streets and at the polls. The anti-Catholicism on which he based his success was deep rooted in the port that John Knox recognised as a prime conduit for the reformation of religion in the sixteenth century, where John Hope's 'Anti-Popery' classes were popular in the nineteenth century and which nurtured Jacob Primmer, the anti-RC crusader of the end of that century. Chapter 7 considers the election campaigns in their social and economic context, the astonishing, almost immediate success at the polls and posits underlying reasons for that success and ultimate failure. The final chapter, the conclusion, tries to assess the longer-term effects of sectarianism on the Scottish political and religious scene.

This is an attempt to set the PAS episode in Edinburgh fully in its historical, economic and social context. It is not an attempt to provide an analysis of the post-reformation development of politics and religion in Scotland; that would require a much more substantial work. The aim is much narrower, to provide an explanatory background to the extraordinary, though short-lived, success of the Protestant Action Society in 1930s Edinburgh and to allow the episode to be understood as part of the development of Edinburgh society.

Notes to Chapter 1

- 1 Robert Kent Donovan has examined an eighteenth century manifestation in *No Popery and Radicalism: Opposition to Roman Catholic Relief in Scotland 1778-1782* (London, 1987). John Wolfe in *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain 1829-1860* (Oxford, 1991) considers the mid-nineteenth century manifestation.
- 2 Books on these topics published in the second half of the twentieth century listed in the National Library of Scotland main catalogue include sixteen on the Reformation, seventeen on Covenanters, and twenty-seven on Jacobites. Irish immigration has received much attention from contributors to *The Innes Review* and was the subject of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar at the University of Strathclyde 1989-90. The proceedings were published in *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde, 1989/90* (Edinburgh, 1991), ed. T.M. Devine.
- 3 Tom Gallagher, 'The Catholic Irish in Scotland', in *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. T.M. Devine (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 19-43 (pp. 22 & 34).
- 4 This is a point stressed in the *Third Statistical Account of Scotland, The City of Edinburgh*, ed. David Keir (Glasgow, 1966), p.167 in a discussion of religion in Edinburgh in the twentieth century.
- 5 Gordon Donaldson, *The Faith of the Scots* (London, 1990), p. 33.
- 6 Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London, 1980), Vol. 1, p. 29.

- 7 Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Discourses*, ed. by Bernard Crick (Harmsworth, 1970), p. 141.
- 8 V.H.H. Green makes a Europe wide review of this aspect of the Reformation in *Renaissance & Reformation, A Survey of European History between 1450 and 1660* (London, 1985). D. H. Fleming examines the link in his study of causes and effects in *The Reformation in Scotland: Causes, Characteristics, Consequences* (London, 1910) and Michael Lynch makes a special case for the connection in *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981).
- 9 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707 – 1837* (London, 1996), p. 5.
- 10 H.B. Workman examines the importance of Wyclif to the English reformation in *John Wyclif: A Study of the English Medieval Church*, Vol. I (Oxford, 1926).
- 11 Green, *Renaissance & Reformation* p. 121.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 114.
- 13 *Patrick Crichton: The Woodhouselee Manuscript*, ed. by Archibald Francis Stewart (Edinburgh, 1907), p. 93.
- 14 Donovan traces the roots of this opposition and its manifestation in riots, pp. 24-28.
- 15 George Otto Trevelyan gives a colourful account of the two contests in *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 2 vols (London, 1876), II, pp. 173-187.
- 16 For Hope see David Jamie, *John Hope, Philanthropist and Reformer* (Edinburgh, 1900), for Primmer see J. Boyd Primmer *Life of Jacob Primmer* (Edinburgh, 1916).
- 17 I.G.C. Hutchison 'Politics and Society in Mid Victorian Glasgow 1846-1886' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1975), p. 124. Hutchison argues that even in the early part of the century, before the secrecy of the poll, religion weighed more heavily with voters than civil matters.
- 18 Steve Bruce makes this connection in *No Pope of Rome: Militant Protestantism in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 39 & 40.
- 19 *City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh, Report on Overcrowding by Medical Officer of Health and Chief Sanitary Inspector* (Edinburgh, 1936), pp. 1 & 2.
- 20 E.P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 50 (1971), 76-136 (p. 78).

- 21 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1992) posits the development of print capitalism as a major factor in the creation of nation states and sees the dissemination of information in the vernacular as vital to the process (passim).
- 22 Charles Tilly, *Nineteenth Century Origins of Our Twentieth-Century Collective-Action Repertoire*, a paper prepared for presentation to the conference on Economy and Society in the Twentieth Century in honour of Tom Burns, University of Edinburgh, 1981, p. 7.
- 23 John Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. William Croft Dickinson, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1949). John Cormack, 'My Hectic Life', *Protestant Telegraph*, 11 January 1969, 25 January 1969, 8 February 1969 and 22 February 1969.
- 24 Robert Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, with an original memoir of the author, extracts from his correspondence, a preliminary dissertation and notes by Robert Burns, 4 vols (Glasgow, 1830).
- 25 William Harvey, *Scottish Chapbook Literature* (New York, 1903 reprinted 1971), gives a selective list of eighteenth and nineteenth century chapbook titles which include stories of the battles of covenanting times, p. 145.
- 26 Callum G. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London, 1987), p. 47.
- 27 *Ibid.*, pp. 249-256.
- 28 S. J. Brown, 'Outside the Covenant: The Scottish Presbyterian Churches and Irish Immigration 1922-1928', *The Innes Review*, XLII (1991), 19-45 (p. 34).
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 42.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 42.
- 32 Richard J. Finlay 'Nationalism, Race, Religion and the Irish Question in Inter-War Scotland', *The Innes Review*, XLII (1991), pp. 46-67 (p. 64).
- 33 Hilaire Belloc, *Characters of the Reformation* (London, 1936), p. 178. Belloc was an indefatigable propagandist for his religion. He wrote numerous pamphlets such as *Anti-Catholic History – How it is Written* (London, 1914) and histories including *How the Reformation Happened* (London, 1928).

- 34 Compton Mackenzie, *Catholicism and Scotland* (London, 1936), pp. 53 & 56.
- 35 David McRoberts, ed., *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625* (Glasgow, 1962), p. v.
- 36 Gordon Donaldson, *Reformed by Bishops* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. vi.
- 37 Michael Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 90-124.
- 38 M. J. Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797-1848 Trade Unions, Strikes and Political Movements* (Edinburgh, 1998), p. 11.
- 39 T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* (London, 1999), pp. 486-507.
- 40 David McCrone, 'We're A' Jock Tamson's Bairns', in *Scotland in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh, 1996), ed. T.M. Devine and R.J. Finlay, pp. 102-121 (p. 114).
- 41 John Dunlop, *A Precarious Belonging: Presbyterians and the conflict in Ireland* (Belfast, 1995), p. 21.
- 42 Tom Gallagher considered the west of Scotland experience in *Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace: Religious Tension in Modern Scotland* (Manchester, 1987) and for the east *Edinburgh Divided: John Cormack and no Popery in the 1930s* (Edinburgh 1987). Steve Bruce looks at both cities in *No Pope of Rome: Militant Protestantism in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985).
- 43 Gallagher, *Edinburgh*, p.107.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 148.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- 46 Tom Gallagher, 'Protestant Extremism in Urban Scotland 1930-1938: Its Growth and Contraction', in *Scottish Historical Review*, 64, 2, No. 178 (1985), 143-167 (p. 160).
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 144.
- 48 Tom Gallagher, 'The Catholic Irish in Scotland', in *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1989-90*, ed. Tom Devine (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 19-43 (p. 26).
- 49 Gallagher, *Edinburgh*, p. 108.
- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 45.

- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 52 *Ibid.*, p. 187.
- 53 Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*, p. 25.
- 54 Donovan, p.5.
- 55 Alan B. Campbell, *The Lanarkshire Miners: A Social History of Their Trade Unions 1775-1974* (Edinburgh, 1979), pp. 191-192.
- 56 *Protestant 'Action'*, 27 May 1939.
- 57 Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*, p. 31.
- 58 Donovan, pp. 105-6.
- 59 *Knox Club Publications from the Formation of the Club to 28th May 1917* (Edinburgh, c1918), Vol.1, after title page – no page number.
- 60 *Reports of the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly 1923* (Edinburgh, 1923), p. 750.
- 61 Gallagher, *Edinburgh*, p. 1.
- 62 Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*, p. 246.
- 63 *Ibid.*, pp. 31-41
- 64 *Ibid.*, pp. 108-121 & 245.
- 65 *Ibid.*, pp. 83-107.
- 66 Census of Scotland 1881, vol. II, table XIV, p. 371.
- 67 Tom Gallagher, 'Protestant Extremism', p. 157. Bob Purdie, 'An Ulster Labourist in Liberal Scotland: William Walker and the Leith Burghs Election of 1910', in *Scotland and Ulster*, ed Ian S. Wood (Edinburgh, 1994), pp. 116-133 (p. 122).

Chapter 2.

'THE MENACE OF POPERY'

During the seventeenth century the commonalty in Britain, those below the social level of the aristocracy and the squirearchy, became a decisive political force. It did so in an area in which monarchs traditionally had made decisions and imposed them on their subjects. Scotland had provided a precursor in the previous century, by defying the RC monarch, Mary Queen of Scots, and embracing Protestantism as the national religion in 1560. England's religion had been reformed earlier that century by Henry VIII but was returned to Roman Catholicism after the accession of Queen Mary in 1553. The reformed church was restored by Queen Elizabeth in 1559.¹ Union of the crowns of Scotland and England in 1603 under James VI & I created a monarchy dealing with two disparate forms of religion, Scottish Presbyterianism in which all ministers were equal, the only acknowledged head being Jesus Christ, and English Episcopalianism with its hierarchy of clergy and the monarch as head of the church. The preference of the Stuart kings for the episcopal system is understandable since it fitted with monarchical rule and the hierarchical social system.² Their inclination to toleration and even adoption of Roman Catholicism is less easy to explain. The strength of anti-Catholicism in England and Scotland and the extent to which their reformed religions, free from foreign control, formed part of both people's sense of nationality, were factors in the changing social and political situation which successive Stuart kings failed to appreciate.³ As the balance of power swung towards parliament, which increasingly controlled state finances, the crown's ability to enforce religious conformity decreased. Royal power was increasingly

challenged and the people came to understand that they could depose and replace a monarch who failed the nation. The realisation of the power of the people to make such changes was not achieved without much travail and sacrifice, a prime motivation for which was fear of 'popery'. This chapter will try to provide some explanation for the persistence of the passions aroused by this fear and an understanding of the version of history that Cormack mobilised in the 1930s, the historical roots of his rhetoric.

Reformation

In England the break from the RC Church was led by the king whose aim was not reform but control of religion.⁴ The Act of Supremacy of 1534 repudiated papal authority and declared Henry VIII to be the supreme head of the Church in England. Administration of the church continued much as before, but was now subordinate to the state.⁵ Edward VI, who succeeded in 1547, took the decisive reformation action converting a sacramental priesthood into a preaching ministry by the Ordinal of 1550 and in 1553 with the Articles of Religion, defining the doctrinal position of the church, which included the emphasis on personal faith and the authority of the scriptures common to Protestants in Europe.⁶ The Scottish reformation was quite different. Here the change was effected against the wishes of the monarch. Mary of Guise as regent and her daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, assiduously strove to maintain or re-establish RC ascendancy, particularly in the capital where the court had greatest influence.⁷ Michael Lynch has shown that 'the key factor in Edinburgh politics was often the intervention of the crown'.⁸ However, the machinations of contending parties in the dominant social group, the landed magnates, were crucial. The anti-papacy arguments were part of a

struggle for political power.⁹ This is not to say that there were not genuine religious feelings among the people of Scotland, some of whom paid for their convictions with their lives. Lynch says 'Edinburgh's Protestants were still in the 1540s to be counted in handfuls'. Earlier he had referred to heretics 'detected in the burgh' in the 1530s.¹⁰ Heretics were not merely detected, some were killed. In 1534 two Leith men, David Straiton and Norman Gourlay, were hanged and burned.¹¹ It is not at all surprising that there were few avowed Protestants in these times. Also, as ever, it is generally the more powerful, important citizens whose history we learn because they left records of their own or are included in official records. It is not known what the great majority of the people thought. However, those executed for heresy, with few exceptions, were 'members of the lesser clergy, friars, townsfolk, a few minor gentry, executed as a warning to the common people'.¹² Appendix 1 is a list of persons executed for heresy in the years leading up to the Reformation. As Lynch's study shows, the Reformation did not change the basis of civil governance in Edinburgh. Religion, social control and burgh government continued to be intimately bound up. The involvement of town authorities in religion and of religion in town governance had historic roots. Cormack would thus be found to be invoking old traditions in seeking to make religion an issue in municipal politics during the 1930s.

Martyrs and Martyrology

By the end of the seventeenth century Protestantism was firmly entrenched in mainland Britain. While there are no confirmed statistics, estimates of the numbers of RCs suggest that they formed a very small minority. In 1681 a papal envoy reported that

there were 14,000 in Scotland, 12,000 in the Highlands and 2,000 elsewhere.¹³ A Presbyterian count between 1701 and 1705 found only 5,417 in the Highland area.¹⁴ A few years after the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, when the population of England was about 5.5 million, the number of RCs in the Province of Canterbury, comprising five sixths of the kingdom, was 23,740.¹⁵ Webster's account of 1751 gives 16,490 in a Scottish population of 1,265,380.¹⁶ Yet the cries against 'Popery' remained as vehement as they had been in the days of real danger. The dread of invasion to restore the old faith persisted throughout the eighteenth century when, as Linda Colley notes, regarding the Jacobite risings, it was feared that a 'Stuart restoration would have meant the replacement of a Protestant monarchy with a devoutly Roman Catholic dynasty'.¹⁷ During the Napoleonic Wars in the early nineteenth century invasion by staunchly RC France seemed a real possibility. In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries the fear was of subversion from within, the papal plot to extirpate Protestantism, which was a constant theme of PAS propaganda. In order to understand why this should be so it is necessary to have some appreciation of the circumstances that gave rise to these fears.

There were reasons for Protestant fears in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and these were reinforced by constant reminders of the danger from the pulpit and in pamphlets such as that by William Prynne, *The Treachery and Disloyalty of Papists to their Sovereignes* (1643) and Samuel Clark's, *The Gunpowder Treason, being a Rembrancer to England of that Ancient Deliverance from that Horrid Plot hatched by the Bloody Papists, 1605* (1775). Writings by and about one of the early Protestant martyrs, John Wycliff who died in 1384, have been published over the centuries. The

British Library Catalogue to 1975 lists nearly 200 publications on or by him of which some 100 were issued in the nineteenth century and 60 in the twentieth.¹⁸ The killing of heretics was commonplace in Europe. In Scotland it had been institutionalised at the time of Robert the Bruce. When Pope John XXII granted Scots kings the privilege of being crowned and anointed ecclesiastically he stipulated that the officiating bishop must 'exact an oath from the king that he would do his uttermost to exterminate from his kingdom all those whom the Church should denounce as heretics'.¹⁹ Martyrs of the Reformation period were a recurring feature of Protestant literature, which, with the development of printing and the increasing use of the vernacular as the literary medium, was a vital factor in the spread of the reformed religion.²⁰ In a publication popularly known as the 'Book of Martyrs', issued first in Latin in 1554 and in a vernacular version in 1563, John Foxe declared the invention of printing to be a gift of God. He wrote 'the Scripture is seen...truth discerned, falsehood detected...all through the benefit of printing'.²¹ This work rivalled the vernacular Bible in popularity. Nine editions were published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the late eighteenth century it was published in multiple instalments and was so popular it might be found 'in even a working class household'.²² The British Library General Catalogue to 1975 lists forty-six prints of complete versions of the book, and sixty-nine works derived from it, in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was not just a martyrology but also a relation of how the English nation had arrived at its present state and a justification of any action it might take in fulfilling its destiny as a people chosen by God. Ironically, the drastic measures taken against those accused of heresy were effective propaganda for the reformers. The Council of Trent of 1545-1563 urged RCs in Europe to exterminate

Lutherans and Calvinists. Consistent with this attitude, the tribunals of the Inquisition persecuted heretics, torturing and burning those who refused to recant. The Scots escaped the worst of the counter reformation excesses but they were aware of the sufferings of their fellow Protestants.²³ In 1550 one of the leading Scottish scholars of the age, George Buchanan, while teaching at Coimbra University in Portugal was arrested on a range of religious charges and imprisoned until 1552.²⁴ After his release he returned to Scotland. The accession to the English throne in 1553 of Queen Mary, who married the future king of Spain, Philip II, brought a return to Roman Catholicism and four years of repression during which some three hundred people accused of heresy were burned or died in prison.²⁵ The martyrs of the period of the Reformation have figured largely in Protestant histories of the times and Cormack, continuing that tradition, frequently invoked their memory in speeches and in the PAS journal. On 19 February 1938 the journal quoted from a book, *Roman Catholicism and Freedom*, praising the Inquisition and Torquemada. The editorial comment was that this showed the RC Church unrepentant for its sins, noting that during Torquemada's 'fifteen years Inquisitorship 2,000 persons were burned and 40,000 penanced, frequently after torture'.

Reign of Elizabeth I of England – Plots, Risings and Invasions

After Mary was succeeded by her sister, Elizabeth, in 1558, the Protestant faith was endorsed and calmer times restored. Even the Northern Rising of RC nobles in 1569 did not prompt extreme repressive measures.²⁶ However, any possibility of peaceful accommodation of the two versions of the Christian religion in England were dashed by Pope Pius V, a former Inquisitor-General, who issued a Bull in 1570, 'Regnans in

Excelsis', excommunicating Elizabeth. The preamble to the Bull read, 'A sentence declaratory of our Holy Lord, Pope Pius Quintus, against Elizabeth, Queen of England and the Hereticks adhering unto her. Wherein also all her subjects are declared to be absolved from the Oath of Allegiance, and what-ever other Duty they owe unto her'.²⁷ A translation of the Bull is in Appendix 2. Henry VIII's establishment of a national church had made Roman Catholicism somehow un-English. The Bull reinforced this by making all RCs in England suspect, since it relieved them of the duty of loyalty to their sovereign. An Anglican bishop condemned the Bull. It 'deposed the Queen's Majesty....It discharged all her natural Subjects from all due Obedience. It armed one side of them against another'.²⁸ The arguments of those who had advocated a sterner attitude to recusants were reinforced. Their case was strengthened by the news in 1572 of the killing of thousands of Protestants at Paris on St Bartholemew's Day and later throughout France in a move instigated by the de Guise family. RCs rejoiced. Pope Gregory XIII ordered a 'Te Deum' to be sung in Rome and a medal struck in honour of the event.²⁹ In his study of reactions to the massacre R. N. Kingdon noted a 'perceptible rise in papal militancy' and that Rome organised its resources to 'mobilize and stimulate Catholic powers in attempts to crush Protestantism completely'.³⁰

English RCs had been embarrassed by 'Regnans in Excelsis', enjoining a duty which they could not fulfil. Recognising this, Pope Gregory XIII in a communication, 'Explanatio', issued in 1580 authorised them to render outward obedience to 'prevent their being troubled, for so long onely until they might get sufficient strength' to put the 1570 Bull into effect.³¹ Now, even RCs who had acknowledged the duty of loyalty to

the crown were suspect. For succeeding centuries RCs were to be considered unreliable, awaiting only a favourable opportunity to rebel. John Locke, in 'A Letter Concerning Toleration' published in 1689 clearly referred to RCs when he wrote, 'That church can have no right to be tolerated by the magistrate which is constituted on such a bottom that all those who enter into it deliver themselves up to the protection and service of another prince'.³² This concept of RCs pledged to the Pope and therefore inherently traitorous was still current in the early twentieth century and was a theme of Cormack's campaigns in the 1930s. The 23 July 1938 issue of *Protestant 'Action'* declared that, 'if any citizen puts loyalty and allegiance to a foreigner or a foreign state above his loyalty and allegiance to the State of which he is a citizen then that citizen is a TRAITOR (sic)'.

RC monarchs in Europe encouraged rebellion by their co-religionists in England. Phillip II of Spain, who played a prime part in this, culminated his campaign with the launch in 1588 of the Armada to land an army in England. There were those in Scotland who were ready to join the Spaniards and the RC Earl of Huntly advocated an invasion through Leith which could then be held 'as a postern giving easy entrance into England'.³³ The grand design was frustrated by a combination of effective naval defence and adverse weather.³⁴ In England the failure of the Armada was ascribed to God's favour of a Protestant people. The English were a nation with a God-given destiny, just as Foxe claimed in his 'Book of Martyrs'. But danger came also from within. RC plots to depose the Queen were discovered, Ridolfi's in 1571, Throckmorton's in 1583, Barry's in 1585 and Babington's in 1586.³⁵ Mary, Queen of Scots, a prisoner in England since 1568, who had been deeply involved in the last of these plots, signed a letter

agreeing to the murder of Elizabeth. It was, effectively, her own death warrant and she was executed in 1588. For RCs it was a disaster. They had hoped that if Elizabeth died childless, Mary would succeed and re-introduce Roman Catholicism as the state religion. In 1605 came the Guy Fawkes Gunpowder Plot to blow up the Houses of Parliament.³⁶ The anniversary of its discovery was made an official day of celebration. It was a day of anti-RC demonstration in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when effigies of the Pope were paraded and burned. Pre-Reformation public holidays were holy days. From the reign of Queen Elizabeth this religious calendar was changed to a political calendar emphasising the Protestant ascendancy.³⁷ In late twentieth century Guy Fawkes Day was still a popular celebration and a reminder of the disloyalty of RCs. The Gunpowder plot and the Spanish Armada have been the subjects of many history works, both popular and scholarly, over the years. The National Library of Scotland lists forty-four twentieth century publications on the Gunpowder Plot and twenty in 1987-9 to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the Armada. The failure of all these plots was indicative of the weakness of the RCs in Britain but they were alarming for loyal subjects of the crown. In the twentieth century the PAS made much of what it termed the 'Papist conspiracy' to subvert the British constitution. The leading article in the 25 June 1938 issue of *Protestant 'Action'* quoted an ex-RC priest saying that 'only the total overthrow of the government of Great Britain and the Protestant religion will content the Popish church'.

Jesuits – Perfidious Priests

A continuing threat to Protestant England was the activity of RC priests entering the country clandestinely and sheltered by well-to-do sympathisers. Among these priests a leading part was played by Jesuits, members of the Society of Jesus, a militant organisation aggressively seeking to recover souls lost to Protestantism.³⁸ Established by Papal Bull in 1540, it was a vital part of the Counter-Reformation. The fervour with which the Jesuits pursued their aims alarmed Protestants. Henry Care in his *History of the Damnable Popish Plot* (1681) asserted that a Jesuit, Edmund Campion, who was hanged for treason in 1581, had declared that all Jesuits 'had entered into a holy Vow and Covenant any way to destroy all Heretical Kings' and that another Jesuit had said, 'all Catholics are to be taught and instructed, that when they have an opportunity to kill Heretics they should not spare them'.³⁹ The contention that RC priests in England were persecuted for their religion and not for their political activities was undermined by the terms of the Papal Bulls and by the declarations of these priests. Lord Coke, in his charge to the jury on opening the assize at Norwich in 1607, asserted that 'Regnans in Excelsis' was actually proclaimed before the Northern Rising and was meant to gain support for it, justifying the death penalty for priests coming into England 'to sow the seeds of Sedition, and Rebellion'.⁴⁰ Peter Rawlinson in his study of the Society does not overstate the effect of all this when he says 'Jesuits in the sixteenth century had lost for the Church the hearts and trust of Englishmen'.⁴¹ Distrust of RCs has persisted throughout the centuries. For the PAS, as we shall see in chapter 6, this concept of Jesuits as 'perfidious' and of RCs generally as 'traitors' was a live issue in the 1930s.



Scotland's Reformation

The Scottish experience over the same period was almost as fraught. In the reign of James V the 1525 Act against heresy was passed in response to the rapid spread of the influence of Martin Luther, largely through the printing press. Between 1528 and 1546 nineteen persons were executed for heresy, most of whom 'were of fairly humble social standing: a few gentlemen, craftsmen, lesser clergy and a handful of friars and canons regular'.⁴² Others were imprisoned or suffered confiscation of their property for assisting heretics. More important people, members of influential families, usually had the opportunity to abjure and to buy their escheats. Effectively they were fined. The appointment of David Beaton as Archbishop of St. Andrews in 1539 brought an even more repressive regime. Presiding personally over heresy trials in Edinburgh and of Perth craftsmen in 1544, he was checked only by the king's refusal to endorse his list of 300 laymen, nobles and gentry, to be prosecuted for heresy.⁴³ After the death of James V in 1554, in the minority and absence in France of Mary, Queen of Scots, when the Earl of Arran resigned as regent in 1554 the queen mother, Mary of Guise, took his place. An ardent RC, she worked tirelessly to maintain her religion in Scotland, appointing Frenchmen to great offices of state, intervening in the governance of the capital city, and appointing RCs to offices in the town which were in the gift of the crown. At all times there was the intimidating presence or threat of a French army to support her policies. Opposition to the regent and to French influence in Scotland led a number of Protestant nobles to enter into a covenant in 1557 to 'establishe the MAIST BLISSED WORDE OF GOD, and his Congregationne'.⁴⁴ They became known as the Lords of the Congregation of whom the PAS journal of 4 February 1939 said, their

'names deserve to be held by all Scotsmen in everlasting remembrance'. In 1558 Queen Mary's marriage to the heir to the French throne and her challenge to Queen Elizabeth's claim to the English throne, were alarming developments. Additional French troops were sent to Scotland and an English army was sent to oppose them. The war ended in 1560 with the Treaty of Edinburgh in terms of which both French and English troops were withdrawn from Scotland. Also, no Frenchman was to have an important post in the Scottish government. Effectively it marked the triumph of the Reformers. Without the support and final military intervention of the English there might have been no Scottish Reformation.⁴⁵ As ever it is only through street or mob action that we know how the common people reacted to the change. There is, however, ample record of people in Edinburgh, Dundee, Perth and other places 'casting down churches and other religious establishments' around the time of the Reformation.⁴⁶ The Scottish parliament which met in August 1560 passed three Acts by which it abolished the power of the Pope in Scotland, forbade the saying of mass and annulled all Acts from the time of James I 'not agreeing with God's holy word'.⁴⁷ These were the Acts protecting the RC Church. A Calvinistic Confession of Faith was adopted as the creed of the realm.⁴⁸

The Book of Discipline drafted by John Knox and associates in 1560 provided a framework for the administration of the Kirk of which the key elements were a ministry chosen by congregations and assisted by lay elders, elected annually.⁴⁹ It was a form of democracy. The proposals in the Book, except those for transferring the wealth of the old church and funding of the universities, other education and poor relief, were gradually introduced over the years from 1560 despite being rejected by parliament.

Too many members of the laity had financial interests in church incomes. However, in a compromise arranged by the Queen in 1562 holders of benefices gave up one third of their income from that source to be shared by the church and state. The Second Book of Discipline, introduced by Andrew Melville and colleagues in 1578, reiterated most of the proposals in the first Book and introduced new provisions.⁵⁰ Chief among these were the abolition of bishops, to be replaced by bodies of ministers (presbyteries), General Assemblies to be attended only by ministers and elders and the abolition of lay patronage. The Book re-affirmed the doctrine of the 'Two Kingdoms'. The Church should have full control of ecclesiastical affairs.⁵¹ This Second Book was also rejected by Parliament. The policy anent bishops was anathema to the Crown.

The Struggle for Presbyterianism

Although the Parliament of 1560 had ended Roman Catholicism as the state religion it had left the structure of the old faith untouched. Also, Queen Mary, still in France, refused to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh or the Acts of Parliament made in her absence. Nevertheless, they were put into effect. After the death of her husband she returned to Edinburgh in 1561. In her retinue were RC priests and the old religion was practised in her household. Mary professed a policy of religious toleration but she had a long-term aim of restoring Roman Catholicism to Scotland and, indeed, England. Intrigues to this end were carried on throughout her time in Scotland and even when she was imprisoned in England. A Jesuit legate reported Mary's response to his apostolic brief in 1562:

The Pope exhorted her in defending the faith to follow the example
of Queen Mary of England...but her position and that of the kingdom,

and of the nobility, was unhappily very different from hers....For herself, she would rather die than abandon her faith.⁵²

Pope Pius IV urged the Queen to ensure that Catholics were appointed as secular officers and magistrates as this would 'conduce more than anything else to the preservation and maintenance of the Catholic religion and to the extirpation of heresies'.⁵³ The appointment of RCs to secular office was a policy pursued vigorously by the RC James II and VII.⁵⁴ Counter to this were complaints that RCs in important posts used their position to further the cause of the Roman Church and this was centuries later a feature of Cormack's campaign in the 1930s. He claimed that as long as RCs 'are allowed to hold office of any kind in this country, just so long are we exposed to an insidious enemy'.⁵⁵ In 1565 Queen Mary wrote to the king of Spain, Philip II, asking for assistance to restore the old faith (See Appendix 3). In 1566 she obtained money from the Pope to assist in her struggle with the Protestant lords. On 17 July she wrote thanking him, adding, 'we will never depart from the Catholic religion and the observance due to the Holy See'.⁵⁶ However, even the support of the monarch could not restore the old form of religion. Mary's brief, tumultuous reign, ending with her flight into England in 1568, left the reformers in control.⁵⁷ It might have seemed that with the accession of her son, James VI, who was brought up as a Presbyterian, the Scottish settlement of religion was safe. This proved wrong. James equivocated between toleration for RCs and upholding Protestantism as he sought support from all parties for his claim to succeed Elizabeth.⁵⁸ He negotiated with the Pope, who sent him a large sum of money and the promise of a monthly allowance if he would protect RCs in Scotland.⁵⁹

His wife, Queen Anne, became a RC in about 1600. RCs were prominent at court. James Elphinstone, Lord Balmerino, principal Secretary of State and Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, President of Session, were RCs. Despite his early education, James was no friend of the Presbyterians. In his *Basilicon Doron* (c1599) he said,

But the reformation of Religion in Scotland being made by a popular tumult & rebellion...& not proceeding from the Prince's ordour (as it did in England) some of our fyerie ministers got such a guyding of the people at that time of confusion....they begouth to fantasise to themselves a Democratik form of Government.⁶⁰

In this book James claimed divine origins of royal authority. The people had a duty to obey their king but the king had no reciprocal obligations. This was a contradiction of the belief of Presbyterians, as propounded by George Buchanan, that political sovereignty was vested in the people, and 'whatever power is given to anyone by the people can be revoked on good grounds'.⁶¹ As regards religion James declared that the episcopal form of church government was best. If the king was to control the church this could best be done in a hierarchical system, through bishops as it was in England. Measures to establish an episcopate and Scottish reaction to them created political instability in Scotland. In 1572 the Convention of Leith voted for an old style religious hierarchy. The Second Book of Discipline, which dispensed with the episcopacy, was adopted by the General Assembly in 1581. However, the Black Acts passed by parliament in 1584 affirmed the episcopacy. P. Hume Brown summed up the Acts thus,

The king was to be head of the church as well as of the state; no assemblies of the Church were to be held without his sanction; bishops were to be appointed and he was to have the appointment of them; and finally no minister was to express his opinion on public affairs under pain of treason.⁶²

A conflict that was to last for more than a century was joined. The king's policy was unpopular. On 17 December 1596 rioters in Edinburgh demanded that the king cease to favour Papists and dismiss his allegedly Popish officials. It was an indication of popular feeling that the king ignored.⁶³ A Scottish episcopacy was established in 1610.

Charles I and the Covenants

James had proved to be an able politician, establishing his form of government, civil and ecclesiastic, on sometimes unwilling subjects. His understanding of the political and social situation in Scotland had been vital to his ability to do so. Lack of this background of experience was to prove a fatal handicap for his successors.⁶⁴ The accession in 1625 of Charles I, who had married a French princess, a committed RC, brought renewed fear to Scottish Presbyterians. A Covenant signed in Greyfriars Churchyard that year expressed constitutional as well as religious opposition to the king whose policy of imposing by the royal prerogative administrative, economic and religious uniformity in Britain had antagonised all constituents of the Scottish political nation, nobles, gentry, burgesses and clergy. The Revocation Scheme prescribed in 1625, to give the Crown the right to annexe as much as possible of the alienated property of the pre-Reformation church, alarmed landowners. Burgesses complained of excessive taxation.⁶⁵ The

Presbyterian clergy's suspicions of the king's intentions were confirmed by the appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633 of William Laud, who challenged the existence of dissident Protestant preachers in England and pressed measures against them.⁶⁶ A RC queen, a high church archbishop, a Papal nuncio at court, toleration of RCs, and persecution of Puritans, were seen by many as a counter reformation.

In 1636 a code of canons was published specifying changes to bring Scottish practice further into line with that of the Anglican Church. A prayer book to be imposed on the Scottish church by royal fiat was described by a Presbyterian clergyman, Robert Baillie, as 'nought but the mass in English'.⁶⁷ On 23 July 1637, when the Dean of Edinburgh began to read from the book in St Giles, 'the inferiour multitude began in tumultuous manner to fill the Church with uproar'.⁶⁸ The Privy Council met on 20th September 1637 and were presented with petitions from local and national groups opposing the prayer book. Edinburgh town council would not help to impose the new liturgy, in common with all other burgh councils except Aberdeen. There were more demonstrations, culminating in rioting in Edinburgh. The king's refusal to heed the petitions was consonant with his views as described by a contemporary: 'The Commonalty of England he neither cared for, took much notice of, or much disrespected, holding this opinion only, that because he was their King, they ought in duty to serve him'.⁶⁹ The refusal to listen exacerbated the situation and a new supplication was prepared, attacking not only the prayer book but also the book of canons and the bishops. The National Covenant of 1638, signed by members of a wide coalition which the king's policies had united against him, great landed magnates, lairds,

tenants, burgesses and presbyterian ministers, demanded withdrawal of the prayer book, abolition of canons, removal of bishops from the Privy Council, a free Parliament and a free General Assembly.⁷⁰ The religious innovations were considered to 'tend to the re-establishing of the Popish Religion and Tyranny'.⁷¹ The Scots bishops fled to England and the Covenanters prepared for war. The king agreed to the revocation of the prayer book and other of his decrees and to the calling of a General Assembly, the first for twenty years. When the Assembly met at Glasgow in November 1638 it voted for the annulment of the canons and liturgy, to depose the 'pretended' bishops, remove episcopacy from the kirk and ban clerics from holding civil office. Finally the institution of annual General Assemblies was reinstated.⁷² In the sixteenth century Calvinist political thought developed the idea of justified resistance to RC sovereigns. Christopher Goodman, in a book published in Geneva in 1558, wrote,

Though it appear at first sight a great disorder that the people should take unto them the punishment of transgression, yet when the magistrates and other officers cease to do their duty,... God giveth the sword into the people's hand and He himself is become immediately their head.⁷³

Two hundred and fifty years later at a lower level the PAS street demonstrations in 1930s Edinburgh were extensions of this argument for direct action when the authorities were inactive. It is clear from Cormack's letter to the Secretary of State (a copy is in Appendix 8) that the PAS proposed to demonstrate on the occasion of the Eucharistic Congress if the authorities did not act against it.

The Bishops' Wars

In 1639 Charles tried to coerce the Scots by force of arms but failed. For Scots, as for the English, their religion was an essential part of their identity as a nation.⁷⁴

Contemporary writers were in no doubt that the attempt to impose Anglican forms of religion on Scotland started the slide into civil war. One wrote, 'that corrupt Common-Prayer Book was the sole and whole occasion of all the miseries and Wars that since that time have happened....those rude Scots....taught us the way to expel an insulting Priesthood, and to resist the King'.⁷⁵ The confrontations between the Scots Presbyterians and Charles were dubbed the 'Bishops' Wars' as they were attempts to force episcopacy on Scotland and the bishops symbolised the cause of the conflict. The first was a failure for the king. Both sides raised armies but the main battle was waged on the printing presses as the Covenanters buttressed their support in Scotland and sought support in England and Charles tried to exploit English distrust and dislike of the Scots.⁷⁶ In the Pacification of Berwick in 1639 Charles agreed to call a free Scottish Parliament and a free General Assembly. The Assembly of 1639 ratified the decision of the previous year's meeting in Glasgow abjuring episcopacy and the Scottish Parliament supported this action. Charles, alarmed at such defiance, summoned an English Parliament in 1640 (he had ruled without one for eleven years) but it refused to finance a military campaign against the Scots. The second 'Bishops' War' later that year, another fiasco for the king, was ended by the Treaty of Ripon, which left the Scots in occupation of Northumberland and Durham and receiving a subsidy of £850 a day to support their army. One historian of the conflict concluded that 'for some members of the lower orders, then, the Bishops' Wars were part of a larger struggle which was starkly simple. Either one fought for

good, that is, protestantism, or evil, that is, popery', quoting a soldier in the king's army saying, if the king fought 'papists, they would fight on his side, and if the Scots fought papists, they would fight on the Scots side'.⁷⁷

The dispute between Charles and the Covenanters was about the extent of royal authority. The Covenanters claimed authority for the General Assembly on religious matters and for the king in Parliament in civil affairs. Charles claimed a God-given, absolute right to rule. A meeting of the Scottish parliament in 1641 confirmed earlier laws and passed new laws endorsing the Covenanters' view of the constitutional position. The General Assembly and the parliament together achieved the aims of the coalition of interests that had united so much of Scottish society. D.G. Mullan expressed it succinctly, 'Throughout the 1630s the theological predilections of presbytery were wedded to the social and political concerns of the aristocracy. The one provided a satisfying apologetic, the other the needed clout'.⁷⁸

Disaffection in England

In England Calvinist MPs like John Pym argued that Laud's changes to ritual and church government were a way of re-introducing Roman Catholicism into England.⁷⁹ However, Laud had King Charles' support. In 1626 a royal proclamation effectively outlawed Calvinism. For the first time since the reign of Queen Mary, a papal nuncio was received at court in 1637. There was widespread discontent with Charles' rule. He did not call a parliament from 1629 to 1640, when a recall was forced in the crisis over financing the war with Scotland. That parliament was short-lived but the king's

financial situation was desperate and another had to be called. Parliament gave a focus for and legitimacy to the opponents of the king's policies. A contemporary view was that 'the parliament and Commonwealth ... became Masters of the affections of all publick spirited people'.⁸⁰ In 1640 Parliament had Laud arrested, tried, and condemned to death for treason, ignoring the king's declaration of a pardon for him. During the same year Londoners presented a petition to parliament demanding the abolition of bishops and there were similar petitions from other parts of the country. The pressure on parliament came from 'men of meane or middle quality themselves, no Aldermen, Merchants or Common-Council-men'.⁸¹ Charles would not countenance the abolition of bishops but he replaced the Laudian bishops with men he thought might be more acceptable.⁸²

The Irish Rebellion

During 1641 the rift between king and parliament widened. There were suspicions that the newly formed standing army in Ireland was an instrument of royal coercion. Rumours of papist plots were rife. In October came the news of rebellion in Ireland. Alarming reports of massacres of tens, perhaps hundreds, of thousands of Protestants and of imminent invasion of England by the rebels created near panic. One account of the rebellion claimed 'in the province of Ulster, we find about 150,000 murdered'.⁸³ The catalogue of atrocities, murder, rape and torture included 'a child boiled in a cauldron' and 'plucked out eyes'.⁸⁴ In alarm, nearly every English county petitioned Parliament during 1642 with fear of popery the most prominent theme.⁸⁵ The 1641 rebellion has an important part in Protestant martyrology and is an event crucial to the development of

sectarian antagonisms in Ireland and Great Britain in succeeding centuries. It confirmed the suspicions of those who feared a RC conspiracy to overturn the Protestant governments of England and Scotland by force.⁸⁶ In other circumstances a united response to the danger might have been expected but the lack of trust between king and parliament was paralysing.⁸⁷ While the king was mobilising an army to suppress the rebellion, parliament was preparing the Grand Remonstrance, a long catalogue of concerns that had arisen during the period of personal rule, including conspiracy to change the national religion. 'Jesuited Papists' and 'The Bishops' were blamed for creating the quarrels between king and parliament.⁸⁸ Unsurprisingly, parliament was unwilling to vote funds for the king to raise an army which they had every reason to fear might be used against them rather than the Irish.

Civil War in England and Scotland

Mounting disaffection led eventually to the Civil War in England and Scotland (1642-1648) that ended the reign of Charles I. Although it was only one of the issues, religion dominated the rhetoric of the contending factions.⁸⁹ When defeat of the Royalist army in England caused Charles to surrender to the Scots in 1646 he made an agreement, 'The Engagement', for the Scots to intervene on his behalf in return for his promise to provide for 'three years presbyterial government at Westminster',⁹⁰ an agreement repudiated by the General Assembly and causing a split in the Covenanting movement. The Scots' intervention failed, Charles was captured and executed. His son, Charles II was proclaimed king by the Scots on condition that he accepted the Covenants. War with Cromwell's army followed. The Scots were defeated at Dunbar in 1650 but nevertheless

crowned Charles II at Scone in 1651. However, he was forced to flee to the Continent when Cromwell completed the subjugation of the Scots that year. As Protector, Cromwell was tolerant of the various forms of Protestant religion and in the stable government he provided the Scots kirk flourished. By the end of the Protectorate 'every paroche had a minister, every village had a school, every family almost had a bible'.⁹¹

Restoration – Renewed Enforcement of Episcopacy

Cromwell died in 1658 and in 1659 General Monck restored the freedom of parliament. In 1660 the English Parliament voted for monarchy in the state and episcopacy in the church. Once restored, the king moved to deal with the Protestant dissenters in Scotland. The Duke of Argyll and others were executed. More were arrested. In 1661 the intention to enforce episcopacy was proclaimed. Cowan says,

...amongst the people at large the edict effected a transformation of opinion as support for the established church was to many Scots a much more important tenet than support for either episcopacy or Presbyterianism...the episcopal church could claim with some confidence to represent the majority of the people.⁹²

These are confident claims but they are unsupported by evidence. Given the penalties for non-compliance, only the brave would openly confess to being Presbyterian. Enactments against Presbyterians followed the king's edict. An oath of allegiance required acknowledgement of the supremacy of the king in all matters, temporal and spiritual. All legislation enacted since 1633 was annulled. The Scottish response was

uncompromising. In 1661 the Synod of Glasgow denounced prelatical episcopacy and upheld Presbyterian government. Glasgow, Fife, Dumfries and Galloway synods were forbidden by the king to reconvene. The Lothian synod was dissolved because it rejected overtures in favour of prelacy. Covenants and conventicles (Presbyterian prayer meetings) were declared illegal. All parishes were declared vacant where ministers had been appointed after 1649 unless approved by the episcopal authorities and by early 1663 some 200 ministers had been deposed. Cowan suggests that about one third of the 952 ministers in the Church of Scotland opposed episcopacy.⁹³ Since such opposition entailed loss of home and living it was a courageous stand to take. It is difficult to assess the extent of support among the people for Presbyterianism. Many of the nobility and major landowners abandoned the cause on the restoration. Charles ensured their loyalty by measures to 'reassert their social and political pre-eminence' and by changes from direct to indirect taxation which greatly benefited the landed classes.⁹⁴ It was also, as Hume Brown has shown, the nobles' fear of domination by the Presbyterian Church and through it by the people, threatening their privileges, that brought them to side with the crown.⁹⁵ After the revolution of 1688, when Presbyterianism was restored, many of these people remained Episcopalian. Presbyterians who suffered for their faith were mainly among the lower orders of society, 'country people, tenants and cottars'.⁹⁶

Covenanters and Conventicles – the Killing Times

From the start there was strong opposition to this latest attempt to impose episcopacy on Scotland. In 1664 a tribunal was set up to deal with all ecclesiastical offences. It was empowered to fine or imprison without indictments, defences or evidence led. Members

of the nobility who enforced the new laws were enriched by the fines levied on those who transgressed. In his history of these times Wodrow summarises the fines imposed in certain shires and parishes, reaching a total of £3,174,819.18.0 Scots, although not all of these were paid. The fines were 'uplifted from the more common sort....save in a few instances from gentlemen and meaner inheritors'.⁹⁷ The fiercest resistance to the King's ecclesiastical policy was met in the south-west where persecution of Presbyterians led eventually to insurrection in 1666.⁹⁸ David Stevenson's analysis of the composition of the rebel force found them to be 'overwhelmingly men of humble social status, peasant farmers and the like' and emphasises the significance of the movement which defied not only the state but also the leaders of Scottish society, the nobility and great landlords.⁹⁹ The rising was put down finally at Rullion Green near Edinburgh. A great number of prisoners were taken and many executed 'all of them dying with this declaration, that they were not against the king nor intended any hurt to him, but only against the bishops, and that new form of church-government'.¹⁰⁰ Draconian action was taken, first against the rebels and then, perhaps inevitably, against all Presbyterians. As each succeeding level of persecution failed more drastic measures were introduced.¹⁰¹ Lord Fountainhall, a senator of the College of Justice left a laconic account of the suffering inflicted.¹⁰² The death sentence was proclaimed for organising field conventicles. During 1672 action against conventiclers in Fife, Angus and Perthshire revealed that they were petty lairds, heritors and tenant farmers.¹⁰³ Despite the repressive action, conventicles, both field and house, continued. Magistrates in the major burghs were reluctant to take action against them. Regulations were made ever more severe and rewards were offered for the capture of the most persistent of the field preachers but the government met with little success.

Eventually the Council of State had to send in troops and by 1678 an army of English, Irish and Highland soldiers was deployed to enforce the laws against conventicles.

Following the proclamation at Rutherglen in 1679 of the conventiclers' manifesto denouncing the statutes which proclaimed royal supremacy in the church, established the episcopacy and condemned the covenants, there was open war between them and the army. After initial success they were defeated at Bothwell Bridge. Then followed the most vigorous attempt at repression. Troops commanded by Graham of Claverhouse harried the south-west. Preachers were executed. Many conventiclers were sentenced to transportation. The followers of Richard Cameron, the Cameronians, who were leading lights in the defiance of the king, were pursued mercilessly. Their Sanquhar Declaration was a declaration of war on Charles II.¹⁰⁴ Cameron is quoted as claiming that 'his was a standard that shall overthrow the throne of Britain'.¹⁰⁵ In 1680 Cameron, his brother Michael and seven comrades were killed at Ayr's Moss.¹⁰⁶ Although some members of the Scottish elite have at times disparaged them as narrow-minded zealots the Covenanters have been heroes to generations of Scots. Anniversaries of the Covenants have been occasions for praising their memory. The PAS held annual commemoration services for the Covenanters in the Grassmarket. After the 1939 service *Protestant 'Action'*, on 13 May 1939, featured a poem entitled 'At the Martyrs' Shrine in Grassmarket'. The Covenanters were seen to be in the line of Protestants who, over the centuries, fought for their faith, as the PAS now claimed to do. Cormack was in no doubt about their contribution to Protestantism, warning 'if popery gets its way all the fruits of the long and bitter struggle of the Covenanters.... would be wiped out'.¹⁰⁷

Fears of Popery

A perception that Charles II leant towards Roman Catholicism was common to his subjects in Scotland and England.¹⁰⁸ In 1670 he concluded a secret treaty with France in which he was described as 'being convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion and resolved to declare it and reconcile himself with the Church of Rome as soon as the welfare of his kingdom will permit'.¹⁰⁹ Since he never did so, except in the death bed conversion attested by his brother James, it seems that 'the welfare of his kingdom' never permitted. In 1680 a sensational accusation was made of a RC plot to kill Charles and to ensure that James would succeed him. In evidence to a House of Commons committee Stephen Dugdale, a RC convert, testified that a priest, Frances Evers, said that James had assured the Pope he would return England to the Church of Rome. He had 'not only engaged himself solemnly to us for the Establishing of Religion, but that he would restore to Us all our Church Lands, and other Privileges'.¹¹⁰ This evidence could not but increase Parliamentary opposition to James but the King proceeded with his plans for the succession. In 1681 the Succession Act ensured that James would succeed to the throne and the Test Act required all office holders, including ministers, to swear that they held the Protestant faith and recognised the king as supreme in church and state. In Scotland the passing of these Acts had the effect of strengthening Presbyterian dissent. Many ministers refused the Test. In the following years more repressive rules and regulations were brought in. New commissions were set up in 1684 to enforce compliance with the law. There were more arrests, executions and sentences of transportation. Prisons were filled to overflowing. But conventicles survived.¹¹¹

James II: A Roman Catholic Monarch

James succeeded to the throne in 1685. An act of the Scottish parliament dated 8 May 1685 made preaching or attendance at a conventicle a crime punishable with death and confiscation of all the offender's property. No time was lost in preparing the way for the return of RCs to power.¹¹² The Test Act barring RCs from holding military or civil posts and from sitting in parliament was repealed. There were speedy appointments of RCs to influential posts. In Ireland James gave strategically important positions to RCs and by 1688 the majority of officers in his enlarged standing army there were of his religion.¹¹³ In Scotland he used his powers of patronage to raise to even higher status important men who converted to Roman Catholicism, such as James Drummond, Earl of Perth and John Drummond, Lord Melfort. As Alexander Smellie put it, 'the highest honours in the country were conferred on men who had abjured the creed and Church of their youth, in order that they might insinuate themselves into the graces of their bigoted sovereign'.¹¹⁴ In 1686 James proposed relief for RCs and arranged for the church of Holyrood to be a RC chapel royal. The Scottish parliament, which had proved not to be biddable, was dissolved and in the following year office bearers in major towns were replaced by the king's nominees. A royal indulgence in 1687 allowed freedom of religion for RCs. Presbyterians were permitted to meet, but only in private houses. A second indulgence later in the year raised all restrictions on religious practice except those against field conventicles. Presbyterians set about re-erecting the body of their church.

The killing times ended with the 'Glorious Revolution' in November 1688. Howie

summarised the period: 'During the twenty-eight years of persecution in Scotland, about 18,000...suffered death, or the utmost hardships and extremities'. Defoe gives the same figure and says that it is not possible to calculate how many died of exposure in the hills.¹¹⁵ The experience lived on in folk memory for many years. In his novel *The Brownie of Bodsbeck*, written in the early nineteenth century, James Hogg gave a convincing portrayal of the persecution which had been witnessed by his ancestors and in his own days was still remembered in the oral tradition of the Border country.¹¹⁶ Finding his sources in these traditions he wrote in *A Cameronian Ballad*:

When rank oppression rends the heart
 An rules wi' stroke o' death
 Wha widna spend their dear heart's blood
 For the tenets o' their faith?¹¹⁷

The Reverend William Symington in an address to a congregation in St. Michael's Churchyard, Dumfries on 16 April 1831 spoke of the sufferings of the people of the south-west of Scotland during the persecution by the late Stuarts, when 'the faithful Covenanters had their ears cropped, and their faces branded with hot irons'.¹¹⁸ The martyrs of the covenanting period were the subject of John H. Thomson's *Cloud of Witnesses*, sixteen editions of which are listed in the National Library of Scotland (NLS) catalogue, and John Howie's, *The Scots Worthies*, of which fifteen editions are listed in that catalogue, the last in 1995. Ten editions of a twentieth century contribution, Alexander Smellie's *Men of the Covenant* (1903), are in the NLS catalogue, seven of them in the years before 1930. As previously noted and as we shall see in chapter 6,

Cormack made the commemoration of the Covenanters a major event in Edinburgh. In addition to the more academic histories published in the latter half of the twentieth century, local interest has been maintained. *The Persecutions in Scotland 1603-1685*, No.15 in a local history series, was published in Wigtown in 1995.¹¹⁹ The story of the Covenanters continued to be a powerful influence.

Despite tolerance by Charles II and preferment by James II, the number of RCs in Britain remained low, as evidenced by the statistics quoted earlier. The attempt to reinstate the Roman Church by princely action had failed.

The 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688

In the debate following James' flight to France, justification for his deposition was, 'The King being a Zealous Papist....and governed by the Jesuits, it is impossible for him to keep his Word, or Declarations made to his Protestant subjects, any further than shall serve their Designs and Interests'.¹²⁰ The belief that RCs were duplicitous was as strong as it had been in the preceding century. It is a tradition that Cormack exploited in the 1930s. *Protestant 'Action'* of 4 February 1939 declared that 'the RC Church tenet that faith need not be kept with heretics means that papists cannot be trusted'. Edinburgh welcomed the Prince of Orange. At a meeting on 28 December 1688, the Town Council agreed to send a loyal address: 'Sir, Wee now see that our fears of popery and slaverie have been as just as they were great. And we are persuaded that almighty god hath raised your highness to counteract the restles and malicious designes of Rome against this Island'.¹²¹ Scottish grass roots action was immediate. In the 'rabbling' of the curates

established church ministers were ousted. The chapel royal at Holyrood Abbey in Edinburgh was wrecked and the Jesuits driven out.

Re-establishment of Presbyterianism

The crowning of the Protestant William and Mary as joint sovereigns did not immediately end Scotland's problems. The Bishop of London advised a representative of the Scottish bishops that the king understood the situation better now that he was in London than when he was in Holland when he had been assured that the country was generally Presbyterian. Now he understood that the great body of the nobility and gentry were for episcopacy 'and 'tis the trading and inferior sort are for presbytery'. If the Scottish bishops undertook to serve him as the English bishops did he would support the episcopal church and 'throw off the Presbyterians'.¹²² However, many of the Scottish bishops and other clergy were Jacobite and refused to make public prayers for the new monarchs. In response William abolished the episcopacy in Scotland but it was not until the Scottish parliament refused to grant supply (ie make money available) that he gave his approval to an Act re-establishing Presbyterianism in 1690. General Assemblies could meet again, patronage was abolished, ministers ousted in 1662 could be restored. The Presbyterian view of the king's place in church affairs was firmly set out in 1698 when the Assembly asserted, 'We do believe and own that Jesus Christ is the Only Head and King of His Church'.¹²³ By the Act of Security of 1706 Presbyterianism was declared to be the only government of the church in Scotland. However, the union of parliaments in 1707 brought bishops again into the civil government of Scotland and gave Anglicans a permanent parliamentary majority who passed three acts in 1712, all of

which upset Presbyterians. The Yule Vacance Act restored the Christmas vacation in the Law Courts, use of the Church of England liturgy was made legal in Scotland by the Toleration Act and the Patronage Act restored the right of individual patrons to present ministers, a cause of contention in the Scottish church for many years.

The Jacobite Rebellions

Attempts to restore the Stuart dynasty in 1689, 1690, 1708, 1715, 1719 and 1745 were recurring causes of alarm but even the most successful, the 1745 rebellion, met with singular lack of support south of the Tay in Scotland. Although dissatisfaction with the effects of the Union of Scotland and England in 1707 was a factor it does seem that religion was an important determinant in choice of sides in 1745. Strongholds of Episcopalianism were in the north-eastern counties of Scotland and this area, with the western highlands, had the major concentrations of RCs. Murray Pittock has calculated that more than half of Prince Charles' army was recruited in Episcopalian areas.¹²⁴ There are various estimates of the number of recruits found in Edinburgh but the highest is 138, from a population of some 50,000. Only ten or fifteen came forward from Glasgow's population of 25,000.¹²⁵ Even in the western highlands there was not wholehearted support, some clans refusing to come out. It is true that Edinburgh town council decided to offer no resistance to Prince Charles' army in 1745, but they did so because the defence force was inadequate. Opening the town to the rebels saved it from the damage that unsuccessful defiance would have occasioned. The council had earlier declared that, 'this city has always distinguished herself, by.... a hearty Abhorrence of all Popish and Arbitrary Governments'.¹²⁶ Few joined Prince Charles' army in its

progress through England. The retreat from Derby followed by the defeat at Culloden in 1746 ended the Jacobite movement as a serious political force and by the middle of the eighteenth century the dangers of a resurgence of Roman Catholicism in either country seemed remote.¹²⁷ But while the vast majority of Scots would not become RCs, the late eighteenth century would see the start of a time when a great many RCs would become Scots, so changing the face of Scottish society.

History as Propaganda

This chapter has sketched the basis of a traditional view of history prevalent in Scotland in the early twentieth century. Brutal attempts to suppress Protestant heresy had left an indelible impression. The Roman Church and all RCs, but particularly Jesuit priests, had earned an enduring reputation for untrustworthiness. In the seventeenth century the actions of pro-Catholic and RC kings added another dimension, especially in Scotland where the attempt to impose an episcopacy created more martyrs to be added to those of the Reformation. This version of history has been set out at some length because it helped form the mindset of Scottish society, and particularly the people of Edinburgh, in the 1930s. Few would have a detailed knowledge of these historic events but the traditional view of the central actions and their repercussions was part of the received version of the way the Scottish nation had been formed. It is only by acknowledging the effect of this history that the anti-Roman Catholicism of so many people in the city can be understood. There was an unthinking acceptance that to be truly Scottish was to be Protestant, that Roman Catholicism was alien, and it was to this historical mindset that Cormack appealed. As we shall see in chapter 6 he made the traditional version of

history central to his 'No Popery' campaign. The martyrs of the Reformation period were frequently recalled in his public speeches and in the PAS journal *Protestant 'Action'*. History provided a rich resource for the party's propaganda.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a new challenge was posed by people in many ways like the common folk of Scotland but who did not share their history, traditions nor, most significantly, their religion. The next chapter considers a prevalent view of the way in which Irish immigrants affected economic and social life in Scotland, adding another layer to traditional beliefs and folk memory which have such a strong, if not always fully recognised, influence on society. It is commonly accepted that problems arise from the settlement of immigrants but that they are passing problems. The settlement of Irish RCs in Scotland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries created conflict that lasted for more than a century and still has resonance in the twenty-first.

Notes to Chapter 2

- 1 The significance of the religious changes in these years are examined by Williston Walker in *A History of the Christian Church* 4th edn (Edinburgh, 1985).
- 2 James VI & I makes this clear in his *Basilicon Doron*, written to instruct his son, Prince Henry, on kingship. A reproduction of an anglicised version of the work printed in 1599 was published (Menston, Yorkshire, 1969).
- 3 John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments of these Latter Days* (The Book of Martyrs) published in 1563 set out what seems to have become a prevalent belief of Protestant England as an 'elect nation'. William Prynne's pamphlets *The Treachery and Disloyalty of Papists* (London, 1643) and *Romes Master-Peece or, The Grand Conspiracy of the Pope* (London, 1641) are typical anti-popery tracts of the time. Anthony Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London, 1981) records anti-catholicism as at the root of the dispute between the House of Commons and the King in 1640. Chapter 6, pp. 191 – 227, considers the spate of petitions to parliament

- in 1642. Peter Lake in his study of anti-popery in the seventeenth century says it 'appealed to people's emotions... because it incorporated deeply held beliefs'. 'Anti-popery: The Study of a Prejudice', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics* (London, 1989), pp. 72-106 (p. 97).
- 4 J.J. Scarisbrick explores this aspect of the Henrician reformation in *Henry VIII* (London, 1981), particularly in chapter 12, 'The Royal Supremacy and Theology'.
 - 5 A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 2nd edition (London, 1989) traces the English reformation from the days of Wycliff to the consolidation of the reformed church under Elizabeth I, noting the beginnings of religious tolerance.
 - 6 Edward's contribution to the reformation of religion in England is considered in W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King* (London, 1968) and *Edward VI: The Threshold of Power* (London, 1970).
 - 7 Jenny Wormald in *Mary Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure* (London, 1988) reviews this aspect of the actions of mother and daughter as successive rulers of Scotland.
 - 8 M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 6-7.
 - 9 The anti-papacy aspect of the Reformation is reviewed by W.J. Anderson, 'Rome and Scotland, 1513-1625', pp. 463-483, and the political aspect by J.H. Burns, 'Political Background of the Reformation 1513-1625', pp. 1-38 in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625*, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow, 1962).
 - 10 Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, p. 82.
 - 11 John Knox, *The Works of John Knox, including The History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed by David Laing, 6 vols (Edinburgh, 1846-1864), I, pp. 516 – 526.
 - 12 Anthony Ross, 'Reformation and Repression', in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625*, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow, 1962), pp. 371-414, (p. 384).
 - 13 Donald MacLean, 'Roman Catholicism in Scotland in the Reign of Charles II', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, III, (1929), 43-54, (p. 47).
 - 14 *Ibid.*, p. 52.
 - 15 Mathieson, *Politics and Religion*, II, 334, quoted from *Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain*, Appendix to Pt ii, Book 1.
 - 16 James Gray Kyd, ed., *Scottish Population Statistics including Webster's Analysis of population 1755*, (Edinburgh, 1975), p. 77.

- 17 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707 - 1837* (London, 1992), p. 24.
- 18 British Library General Catalogue of Printed books to 1975 (London, 1979).
- 19 David Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland: Causes, Characteristics, Consequences*, (London, 1910), pp. 8-9.
- 20 Williston Walker posits the view that what was different as regards religion at the beginning of the sixteenth century was not that abuses were worse than before but that they were perceived as intolerable by an increasingly literate and educated laity (p. 420), and Peter Matheson, in *The Rhetoric of the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1998) argues convincingly that printing and the use of the vernacular empowered the lower ranks of society, leading to the emergence of public opinion as a political consideration in the period of the Reformation.
- 21 Stephen Reed Cattley, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, with a preliminary dissertation by George Townsend, 3 vols (London, 1841), III, 270.
- 22 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, p. 2. Colley cites 'The Book of Martyrs' as one of the means by which British national identity was shaped.
- 23 Peter Edwards in *Inquisition* (Los Angeles, 1989), considers the effect over the centuries of the history and myth of the persecution of heretics.
- 24 I.D. McFarlane, *Buchanan* (London, 1981), pp. 131-135.
- 25 Carolly Erickson reviews Queen Mary's reign in *Bloody Mary* (London, 1978).
- 26 J.B. Black's *The Reign of Elizabeth 1558-1603* 2nd edition (Oxford, 1959), is enlightening on this and other plots against Elizabeth.
- 27 William Camden, *The History of the most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England* (London, 1675), pp. 145-147.
- 28 J. Strype, *The Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion and Various Occurrences in the Church of England during the First Twelve Years of Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign* (London, 1709), p. 539.
- 29 Donald Kelly, 'Martyrs, Myths and the Massacre', in *The Massacre of St Bartholemew* ed. by Alfred Soman (The Hague, 1974), pp. 181-202, traces the significance of the event to the Protestant cause. H. Noel Williams in *The Brood of the False Lorraines: The History of the House of Guise (1496-1588)*, 2 vols (London, 1919) considers the role of the de Guise family.
- 30 Robert N. Kingdon, 'Reactions to the St Bartholemew Massacres in Geneva and

- Rome', in *The Massacres of St Bartholemew. Reappraisals and Documents*, ed. Alfred Soman (The Hague, 1974), pp. 25-49, (pp. 48-49).
- 31 Henry Care, *The History of the Damnable Popish Plot, In its Various Branches and Progress* (London, 1681), p. 20.
 - 32 William Lamont and Sybil Oldfield eds, *Politics Religion and Literature in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1975), pp. 218 & 219.
 - 33 John Russell, *The Story of Leith* (Edinburgh, 1922), p. 302.
 - 34 Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker in *The Spanish Armada* (London, 1988) stress the closeness of the Armada to success. In a concluding chapter they argue that if the Armada force had landed it would probably have taken London, or at least occupied Kent and would have changed the course of British history.
 - 35 Alison Plowden in *Danger to Elizabeth: The Catholics under Elizabeth I*, discusses the role of the Pope and of Jesuit priests in plots to murder Elizabeth and in plans for the invasion of England.
 - 36 There have been conflicting versions of this event including the claim that it was a fabrication by the government. Antonia Fraser, in *The Gunpowder Plot: Terror and Faith in 1605* (London, 1996), makes a case for the plot as fact, arising from disappointment consequent on the failure of the hopes raised among RCs by James I and VI in his manoeuvres to gain support for his succession to the English throne.
 - 37 David Cressy in *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabeth and Stuart England* (London, 1989) traces the continuity of political use of anniversaries such as the Gunpowder Plot, the defeat of the Armada etc.
 - 38 Joseph McCabe in *A Candid History of the Jesuits* (London, 1913) argues that the organisation was and remains ruthless and effective.
 - 39 Care, p. 13.
 - 40 Lord Coke, 'The Lord Coke, His Speech and Charge, published in London, 1607', in *The English Experience: Its Record in Early Printed Books*, Published in Facsimile (New York), p. 25.
 - 41 Peter Rawlinson, *The Jesuit Factor: A Personal Investigation* (London, 1990), p. 17.
 - 42 Margaret H.B. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland, David Beaton c1494-1546* (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 78.
 - 43 *Ibid.* Sanderson provides a thoughtful account of Beaton's time as Cardinal and his

influence on royal policy in the persecution of heretics.

- 44 G. Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents* (London, 1974), p. 116.
- 45 Anne Somerset, *Elizabeth I* (London, 1991), has a succinct passage on the English decision to aid the Scots rebels against the Queen Regent, pp. 119 – 128.
- 46 David McRoberts, 'Material Destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation', in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625*, ed. by David McRoberts (Glasgow, 1962), pp. 415-462.
- 47 *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. II, 1424-1567, pp. 534 and 535.
- 48 John Knox provides a first hand description of the times and the making of the historic decisions in his *History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, revised and edited by Cuthbert Lennox (London, 1905).
- 49 James K. Cameron provides a commentary on Knox's proposals in *The First Book of Discipline* (Edinburgh, 1972).
- 50 James Kirk offers a critical examination of the revised proposals in *The Second Book of Discipline* (Edinburgh, 1980). Walter Makey's analysis, *The Church of the Covenant 1637-1651: Revolution and Social Change in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979), postulates a church of dedicated professionals to transform Scottish society.
- 51 Donald Withrington, assesses the significance of this question in, 'The Disruption: a century and a half of historical interpretation', in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 1993, Vol. XXV, part 1 (Edinburgh, 1993), 118-153.
- 52 John Hungerford Pollen, *Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots during her reign in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1901), p. 132.
- 53 *Ibid*, p. 187.
- 54 George Clark in *The Later Stuarts* (Oxford, 1955) considers the extent and significance of James II's policy of appointing RCs to civil and military office, particularly in regard to the standing army.
- 55 *Protestant 'Action'*, 30 April 1938.
- 56 Pollen, p. 261.
- 57 Jenny Wormald, *Mary Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure* (London, 1988) charts the decline of fortune of Mary of Guise and her daughter.

- 58 Antonia Fraser, *James I of England, VI of Scotland* (London, 1974), examines the political use of religion.
- 59 William Forbes-Leith, ed., *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI. Now first printed from the original manuscripts in the secret archives of the Vatican and other collections* (London, 1889), p. 222.
- 60 James VI, *Basilicon Doron* (Menston, Yorkshire, 1969), a reproduction of an anglicised version printed in 1599 of the original Scots manuscript, Second Book, p. 46.
- 61 George Buchanan, *The Art and Science of Government among the Scots, being George Buchanan's 'De Jure Regni Apud Scotos'*, translation and commentary by Duncan H. MacNeill (Glasgow, 1964), p. 82. This book was written originally to justify the forced abdication of Queen Mary in favour of James VI. In England it was used in justification of the Parliamentarians in the Civil War. MacNeill's translation has a valuable summary key to the subjects covered in the discourse.
- 62 P. Hume Brown, *Surveys of Scottish History* (Glasgow, 1919), pp. 56-57. The chapter 'The Regime of the later Stewarts in Scotland' is a succinct summary of their policy on religion and its consequences.
- 63 This was part of the long chain of events which Maurice Lee, jr, in *The Road to Revolution: Scotland under Charles I 1625-1637* (Chicago, 1985) sees as leading inevitably to the revolutionary events of mid seventeenth century.
- 64 David G. Mullan's, *Episcopacy in Scotland: The History of an Idea 1560 – 1638* (Edinburgh, 1986) is an exhaustive analysis of James VI and Charles I's ideas on episcopacy and their actions in forcing or trying to force the system on the Scots.
- 65 In *The Scottish Revolution 1637-44* (London, 1973) David Stevenson notes how the king's insensitivity to his subjects' concerns united the most powerful Scots interests against him.
- 66 Charles Carlton, *Archbishop William Laud* (London, 1987) assesses Laud's influence on Charles I and his part in the alienation of many of the king's subjects.
- 67 Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals: Containing an Impartial Account of Public Transactions...from the beginning of the Civil Wars in 1637, to the year 1662*, transcribed by Robert Aitken (Edinburgh, 1775), vol. 1, p. 4.
- 68 H. L'Estrange, *The Reign of King Charles: An History Faithfully and Impartially delivered and disposed into Annals* (London, 1655), p. 147.
- 69 William Lilly, 'Severall Observations upon the Life and Death of Charles, late King

- of England', in *Selected Tracts relating to the Civil Wars in England in the reign of Charles the First by writers who lived in the times of those wars and were witnesses of the events which they describe*, Francis Maseres, ed. 2 vols (London, 1815), vol. 1, pp. 129-182 (p. 141).
- 70 In a pamphlet issued in the Glasgow Cathedral Lecture Series 2, *The Glasgow Assembly 1638* (Glasgow, 1988), Roger A. Mason shows the close links between the signatories of the Covenant and those who attended the Assembly.
- 71 James King Hewison, *The Covenanters: A History of the Church in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*, revised and corrected, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1913), p. 477.
- 72 *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638 – 1842*, reprinted by the Church Law Society, (Edinburgh, 1843), pp. 1-35.
- 73 Christopher Goodman, *How Superior Powers ought (sic) to be Obeyed of their Subjects: and wherein they may lawfully by Gods Worde be disobeyed and resisted. Wherein also is declared the cause of all this present miserie in England, and the only way to remedy the same*, reproduced from the edition of 1558 with a biographical note by C. H. McIlwain, published in Facsimile as No. 460, *The English Experience, Its Record in Early Printed Books*, C.H. McIlwain (New York, 1972), p. 185.
- 74 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* examines this aspect of national consciousness.
- 75 Lilly, 'Severall Observations', p. 156.
- 76 Peter Donald, *An Uncounselled King, Charles I and the Scottish Troubles 1637-1641* (Cambridge, 1990). State documents of the time and the papers of the principal actors show the significance of the anti-popery line in gaining English sympathy.
- 77 Mark Charles Fissel, *The Bishops' Wars: Charles I's campaigns against Scotland, 1638-1640* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 286.
- 78 D. G. Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland: the History of an Idea* (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 173.
- 79 H.R. Trevor-Roper in his study *Archbishop Laud, 1573-1645* (London, 1940) discounted any design of a return to Rome on the part of Laud, whom he considered as much a social and political reformer as a high church religious reformer.
- 80 Lilly, 'Severall Observations', p. 165.

- 81 *Ibid.*, p. 169.
- 82 Anthony Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London, 1981), chapter 3, 'Episcopacy and the Liturgy', pp. 91-124, has an illuminating review of the House of Commons campaign for an end to Armenianism and its outcome.
- 83 *An Abstract of the Bloody Massacre in Ireland. Acted by the Instigation of the Jesuits, Priests and Friars who were chief Promoters of those horrible murders, Prodigious Cruelties, barbarous Villainies, and Inhuman Practices executed by the Irish Papists upon the English Protestants, in the Year 1641. And intended to have been acted out again on Sabbath Day, December the 9th 1688. But by the wonderful Providence of God was Prevented* (Glasgow, 1779), p. 21. The significance of the Rising and evidence for the actual number of victims are examined in a series of essays in *Ulster 1641 Aspects of the Rising*, ed. Brian MacCurtain, SJ (Belfast, 1997).
- 84 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 85 Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War*, chapter 6, pp. 191-227, analyses the content of copies of the petitions held in the British Library.
- 86 M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641* (London, 1944) examines the background to the uprising and its long-term consequences.
- 87 Clarendon, Edward, Earl of, *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, re-edited from a fresh collation of the original ms. in the Bodleian Library, with marginal dates and occasional notes, by W. Dunn Macray, 6 vols (Oxford, 1888). Chapter 1 sets out the ground for this mistrust.
- 88 S.R. Gardiner, ed., *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625-1660*, 3rd edition, revised (London, 1958), pp. 202-232.
- 89 Conrad Russell and the other contributors to *The Origins of the English Civil War* (London, 1994) bring out the complex of social, political and economic conditions which in association with the religious dispute led to the rebellion. Robin Clifton in his contribution 'Fear of Popery', pp. 144-167, considers the part that traditional suspicion and fear of RCs played in conditioning the common people for rebellion.
- 90 Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, p. 347.
- 91 J. Kirkton, *A History of the Church of Scotland 1660-1679*, edited and with an introduction by Ralph Stewart (Lampeter, Wales, 1992), p. 33.
- 92 Ian B Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters 1660-1688* (London, 1976), p. 47.

- 93 *Ibid.*, pp. 52 & 53.
- 94 In the Epilogue to *Cromwellian Scotland 1651-1660* (Edinburgh, 1979), F.D. Dow summarised the measures by which Charles secured the support for the monarchy in Scotland after the restoration.
- 95 P. Hume Brown, *Surveys of Scottish History* (Glasgow, 1919), pp. 47-48.
- 96 Robert Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution with an original memoir of the author, extracts from his correspondence, a preliminary dissertation, and notes by Robert Burns*, 4 vols (Glasgow, 1836), 1, pp. xlvii and xlix.
- 97 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 271-279.
- 98 David Stevenson in 'Conventicles in the Kirk, 1619-37. The Emergence of a Radical party', and 'The Radical party in the Kirk, 1637-45' in *Union, Revolution and Religion in 17th Century Scotland* (Aldershot, 1997), chapters XI & XII show how religious dissent shaded into political dissidence under the later Stuarts.
- 99 *Ibid.*, pp. 61 & 62.
- 100 Robert Law, *Memorials or The Memorable Things that fell out within this Island of Britain from 1638 to 1684*, edited by C K Sharpe (Edinburgh, 1818), p. 17.
- 101 The 'Killing Times' have been the subject of many books; among them are Alexander Smellie, *Men of the Covenant: The Story of the Scottish Church in the Years of Persecution*, 2 vols (London, 1908), John Howie, *The Scots Worthies*, revised from the Original Edition by W.H. Carslaw (Edinburgh, 1870), John H. Thomson, *A Cloud of Witnesses* (Edinburgh, 1871) and Daniel Defoe in his *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, published in 1717, republished (Edinburgh, 1848).
- 102 Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall, *Chronological Notes of Scottish Affairs from 1680 – 1701* (Edinburgh, 1822).
- 103 Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters*, p. 53 .
- 104 Two Cameronian ministers prepared apologies for the stance and actions of the group. Alexander Shields, *A Hind Let loose, or An Historical representation of the testimonies of the Church of Scotland for the interest of Christ, with the true state Thereof in all its periods together with a vindication of the present testimonie against the Popish, prelatical & malignant enemies of that church...and liberties of mankind* (Glasgow, 1770), first published 1687. James Renwick and Alexander Shields, *An Informatory Vindication of a poor wasted, misrepresented remnant of*

the suffering, anti-popish, anti-prelatick, anti-erastian, anti-sectarian true Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland (Scotland, 1687).

- 105 James King Hewison, *The Covenanters, A History of the Church in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*, 2 vols (Glasgow, 1913), 2, p. 331.
- 106 *Ibid.*, p. 333.
- 107 *Protestant 'Action'*, 22 January, 1938
- 108 William Prynne sets out such perceptions in a pamphlet *The Popish Royal Favourite, or, A full discovery of His Majesties extraordinary favours to, and protection of notorious papists, priests, Jesuits against all prosecutions and penalties of law enacted against them, notwithstanding his royall proclamations and protestations to the contrary. As likewise of a... design to set up popery, and extirpate the Protestant religion by degrees manifested by sundry letters of grace, warrants and other writings* (London, 1643).
- 109 Antonia Fraser, *King Charles II* (London, 1979), p. 275, from a copy of the treaty held by Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, a descendant of one of the signatories.
- 110 *Votes of the House of Commons*, includes 'The Popish Damnable Plot against our Religion and Liberties, Fairly laid open and discover'd in the BREVIATS of Threescore and Four LETTERS and Papers of Intelligence' as item 21 (London, 1680), paper 12, p. 2.
- 111 Records of actions against conventiclors in the period 1661- 1678 are contained in readily accessible form in 'Justiciary Court Proceedings', Vols 1 & 2, in *Publications of the Scottish History Society*, Vol. XLVIII (Edinburgh, 1905). Records for later years up to 1688 are contained in Justiciary Papers JC/39/2 held in National Archives of Scotland (NAS).
- 112 John Miller, *James II: A Study in Kingship* (Hove, 1968) stresses the rapidity with which RCs were placed in positions from JPs to members of the Privy Council.
- 113 John Childs, *The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution* (Manchester, 1980), p. 205. Childs posits an attempt by James to create a loyal modern army to further his aims for absolutism in the monarchy.
- 114 Alexander Smellie, *Men of the Covenant*, 2 Vols (London, 1908), II, p. 283.
- 115 John Howie, *The Scots Worthies* (Edinburgh, 1870), p. 626, Daniel Defoe, *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland in four periods from the Reformation to the Union with an Appendix of some transactions since the Union*, carefully reprinted from the original edition of 1717, (Edinburgh, 1848), pp. 96-7.

- 116 James Hogg, *The Brownie of Bodsbeck*, ed. by D. S. Mack (Edinburgh, 1976).
- 117 James Hogg, 'A Cameronian Ballad' in *A Queer Book*, ed by P.D. Garside, the Stirling/South Carolina research edition of the collected works of James Hogg, vol. 3 (Edinburgh, 1995), pp. 84-9 (p. 84).
- 118 William Symington, *The Characters and Claims of the Scottish Martyrs: A Discourse delivered in St. Michael's Churchyard, Dumfries, on occasion of a collection for erecting a monument commemorative of some who suffered in the cause of reformation* (Dumfries, 1831), p. 17.
- 119 Local History Series No. 15, *The Persecutions in Scotland 1603-1685* (Wigtown, 1995).
- 120 *A Friendly Debate between Dr. Kingsman, a Dissatisfied Clergy-man, and Gratianus Trimmer, a Neighbour Minister concerning the Late Thanksgiving-Day; the Prince's Descent into England; the Nobility and Gentries joining with him; The Acts of the Honourable Convention; the Nature of our English Government; the Secret League with France; the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy etc.* (London, 1869), pp. 5 & 6.
- 121 Marguerite Wood and Helen Armit, *Extracts from the Records of Edinburgh 1681-1689* (Edinburgh, 1954), p. 255.
- 122 W.C. Dickinson and Gordon Donaldson, *A Source Book of Scottish History*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1954), 3, pp. 211-212.
- 123 J. Cunningham, *The Church History of Scotland from the commencement of the Christian Era to the Present Time*, 2nd edition, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1882), II, pp. 201-202.
- 124 Murray G.H. Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans* (Edinburgh, 1995).
- 125 *Ibid.*, pp. 69 & 78.
- 126 William Maitland, *The History of Edinburgh from its Foundation to the Present Time* (Edinburgh, 1753), p. 126.
- 127 Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1698-1746* (London, 1980), pp. 283 - 291 summarise the political background to the risings. Lenman and J. S. Gibson, *The Jacobite Threat: Rebellion and Conspiracy 1688-1759, England, Ireland, Scotland and France. A Source Book*, (Edinburgh, 1990), has much contemporary writing and correspondence illuminating the Jacobite enterprises.

Chapter 3

'The Irish Invasion'

Invasion by Roman Catholic forces from the continent had been a great fear in Britain in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but, as noted in chapter 1 (p.15), it had had a cohesive effect, uniting England, Scotland and Wales against the common enemy. Carol Z. Wiener has argued that fear and hatred of Roman Catholicism developed into a part of the national ideology in the sixteenth century.¹ Robin Clifton posits deep wells of hatred and fear of Catholics at all levels of society during the Civil Wars of 1642 - 48.² It was, as Colley has pointed out, a factor in the reaction to the Jacobite rebellions of the early eighteenth century.³ By the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, however, fear of invasion had subsided, leaving only coastal defence works like Martello towers to indicate how real the danger of invasion had seemed.⁴ During the nineteenth and early twentieth century there was an invasion against which these defences were of no avail. Irish immigration into England and Scotland changed society in these countries to a remarkable extent. In Scotland there was superimposed on historical anti-Popery a contemporary anti-Irish Roman Catholicism, fear and distrust of an alien religion practised by an alien people come to make their homes in a predominantly Presbyterian country. The Act of Union of 1801 joining Ireland to the United Kingdom marked a change in the political settlement in Britain, giving the Irish equal residential rights. It was followed by the Roman Catholic Disabilities Removal Act of 1829 which, despite widespread opposition and many petitions to Parliament, restored most civil rights to RCs. This brought renewed fear to Protestants. Ian A.

Muirhead's study of reactions in Scotland concluded that 'bereft of the security of restrictive Acts of Parliament against Catholics, anxious Protestants became aware in a new way of their exposure to increased dangers from this source. Hence the repealed Acts were replaced by a much more vigorous "no popery" movement'.⁵ The October 1838 issue of an Edinburgh publication, *Blackwood's Magazine*, reflected current concern and offered the rhetoric to mobilise popular fears, 'Popery, with stealthy steps, or by bold manoeuvres, has been gaining ground, disarming some, deluding others, conquering more, and marching onward to a position, whence it can defy opposition, nay more, can in turn overbear, and threaten all'.⁶

The migration of so many Irish RCs to Scotland changed a largely homogeneous society to one with a significant minority determined to maintain its difference from the rest of the population. That they were Irish was, of course, an important characteristic initially but one which might have lost importance in the second and succeeding generations. This was the case with English migrants in Scotland and Irish Protestants also merged readily into the host society. Their religion, Roman Catholicism, was the real difference. The economic, social and religious conflict occasioned by the presence of these immigrants in the nineteenth and early twentieth century played an important part in creating the mindset that led to the success of the PAS. It is then important to consider this aspect of the history of these times, particularly in the way it was experienced by the ordinary run of people. The aim is to show how a view of the immigrants and their descendants as alien intruders became a kind of orthodoxy among Protestants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is not an endeavour to analyse the complex

relationships that led to the tension and conflict that arose between the immigrants and the native population nor to try to allocate responsibility for its long continuation.

The Plantation of Ulster

Oral and literary tradition provides evidence of common intercourse between the peoples of Scotland and Ulster from the earliest historical times. S.G.E. Lythe has shown that in the plantation of Ulster in the early seventeenth century geographical proximity was the key to its popularity with the Scots.⁷ Rosalind Mitchison in her contribution to *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850* quotes estimates of the number of Scots settling in Ireland during the reign of James VI as 10,000 and by 1652 perhaps 20,000 altogether with another 4,000-5,000 a year for much of the 1690s.⁸ This plantation of Scots in Ulster was, in some ways, just another chapter in a continuing story of settlement and resettlement but it introduced a new factor. Hitherto, migrants between Ulster and Scotland had been socially and culturally homogenous to the host society. Unlike the RC majority of the Irish population, however, most of the plantation Scots were Presbyterians, transformed socially and culturally as well as in religion by the Reformation.⁹ Their coming was the beginning of a bitter religious divide that has continued to dominate Northern Ireland politics into our own times and, with the immigration of great numbers of Irish in the nineteenth century, has had divisive repercussions in Scotland. To understand the depth of that division it is necessary to appreciate its historical background.

The 1641 Rising, Siege of Londonderry, Battle of the Boyne

The different versions of Christianity posed problems in Ireland. Presbyterians learned

to live with the Episcopalian prelacy but the RC Irish, dispossessed to make way for the plantation Scots, did not. As noted earlier they rebelled in 1641 and were not suppressed until Cromwell brought his New Model Army to Ireland. Irish RCs subsequently suffered severe persecution. The restoration of Charles II, who favoured RCs, redressed their position to some extent. Across the North Channel the situation deteriorated. As we have seen, persecution of Presbyterians, particularly in the south-west of Scotland, during the later seventeenth century destabilised the country. With the accession to the throne in 1685 of James II, determined on a swift Romanising of his realm, there was mounting concern as he placed RCs in positions of influence. His policies antagonised the majority of his subjects and in 1688 he was deposed by the Protestant, William of Orange. Ulster Protestants played their part in foiling James' attempt to regain his kingdom with the help of a French-led army, particularly the 105 days defence of Londonderry, for which they paid a terrible price. A captain in the garrison, George Holmes wrote in 1689, 'I believe there died 15,000 men, women and children'.¹⁰ The Rev. George Walker's account of the siege, also written in 1689, notes that 'Seven thousand died of Diseases'.¹¹ There is still controversy about the number who died but for Protestants, whatever the total, it added a host to the martyrs who died in defence of their faith. The siege of Londonderry and the Battle of the Boyne on 12 July 1690, when James' army was defeated, have been celebrated for succeeding centuries and are still featured in banners carried in Orange Order marches.¹² Londonderry's, defiant cry, 'No Surrender', was a common slogan used by Cormack in his party's journal, as in the editorial on 16 April 1938 which finished 'No Popery and No Surrender'.

Emigration from Ireland to Scotland

Emigration from Ireland increased in the nineteenth century. Many who crossed the North Channel to Scotland were sojourners, farm workers seeking employment at peak times of the agricultural cycle. During the mid-1840s some 25,000 Irish harvesters arrived in the Clyde in the summer season.¹³ As the century progressed an increasing number of these stayed on where steady employment was available. Changes in the textile industries brought permanent settlers from Ulster to the spinning and weaving centres of Ayrshire and Lanarkshire. By 1833 'two thirds and possibly more of the weavers in Glasgow were Irish'.¹⁴ Industrial development required labour for road, canal and, later, railway building and much of this came from Ireland, again temporary at first but leading to permanent settlement. Expansion in the iron and coal industries required stable workforces and brought more permanent immigrants. By 1848 a quarter of the 16,000 colliers and two-thirds of the 3,500 ironstone miners in Lanarkshire were Irish.¹⁵ Brenda Collins has pointed out that, even before the crop failures of 1845-49, commonly regarded as the start of mass departures from Ireland, the level of emigration had been consistently high in the nineteenth century.¹⁶ The famine accelerated the process. In 1851 the Census of Population found 207,000 Irish-born residents in Scotland.¹⁷ At the 1901 Census there were 205,064.¹⁸ The number of second and succeeding generations of Irish immigrants is not recorded but in his report on the 1871 Census of Scotland the Registrar General commented:

The Irish are the most numerous aliens in Scotland, 6.184% of the total inhabitants. It must be remembered, however, that the Irish as

a race are much more numerous in the Population – probably amounting, at the least to 400,000.... This very high proportion of the Irish race in Scotland has undoubtedly produced deleterious results, lowered greatly the moral tone of the lower classes and greatly increased the necessity for the enforcement of sanitary and police precautions wherever they have settled in numbers.¹⁹

Another indication of the scale of immigration is provided in the increase in the number of RCs in Scotland between 1800 and 1901 from 30,000 to 446,000 as it was due almost wholly to Irish immigration.²⁰ Since it is clear that, for many Irish immigrants, Scotland was only a stage in the further emigration to the USA, Canada and Australia, many Irish-born residents at any census would not be present at the next. The persistently high number of Irish-born indicates a constant refreshing of the rural, unskilled element in the Irish immigrant community, offsetting any partial assimilation of the descendants of earlier arrivals. By the end of the nineteenth century then Irish immigrants and their descendants were a significant part of the population of Scotland.

Irish RCs a 'Separate Race'

Assimilation of such large numbers of immigrants into any society is seldom easy; that of Irish immigrants in Scotland was no exception. But experience was not uniform. Ulster Presbyterians often merged with native Scots as easily as if they had moved to another part of the province. Tom Gallagher found that in the nineteenth century 'they fitted in so successfully that they were often able to bequeath their anti-Catholic Orange symbols to native Scots in order to make common cause against the despised Catholic

Irish'.²¹ Research into the experience of Irish RC immigrants in Scotland in the nineteenth century indicates that they remained separate from the host society. Alan B. Campbell, basing his conclusions on census figures for 1861 and on literary evidence, concluded that with the active guidance of their church, they 'constructed their own exclusive communities and guarded them against an often hostile host population'.²² Gallagher considered that the RC clergy were determined to preserve 'an enclave insulated from the surrounding society'.²³ W.M. Walker concluded that Irish RC immigrants founded 'a community within a community wherever they congregated' and that 'within their enclaves the Irish imbibed values, conformed to codes of conduct and submitted to patterns of subordination which, if essential to cultural survival and perhaps just plain survival, acted nonetheless to cut them off from the mainstream of working class aspiration'.²⁴ James Handley found that in the early nineteenth century there was little inter-marriage between Irish and Scots so that immigrants' children were of 'unmixed Irish blood'.²⁵ At the end of the nineteenth century many RCs lived in 'a self-enclosed social world in which the Church had duplicated every movement of Protestant and secular social service and charity'.²⁶ This is a conclusion endorsed by T.M. Devine who found that, by 1900, 'the Irish immigrants and their descendants seem to have developed almost as a distinct and introverted ethnic community'.²⁷

Arriving in Scotland with no assets except their unskilled labour Irish RCs were unwelcome. Often speaking only Irish Gaelic, competing for jobs in a time of great social and economic change, they could not fail to engender fear and mistrust among their reluctant hosts. They were seen as a weapon in the hands of employers to force

down the level of wages. The Checklands have shown that from the early industrial times employers used non-unionised Irish labour to break strikes in the textile industries. Iron masters who controlled the mines in Lanarkshire used the Irish in their efforts to subdue the colliers.²⁸ Discussing industrial conflict, a spokesman for the ironmasters, Bairds of Gartsherrie, told Mr Seymour Tremenheere, Commissioner for Mining Districts, in 1844, 'At that strike 200 of our men turned out. We brought in Irish labourers....In three weeks we had the output of coal increased'.²⁹ Martin J. Mitchell has argued that, contrary to the standard view, Irish immigrants were involved in industrial action and political radicalism alongside native Scots in the first half of the nineteenth century. He accepts that, 'it is indisputable that some Irish workers were used as cheap or blackleg labour'.³⁰ However, 'once part of the workforce (they) were just as willing as Scottish workers to engage in industrial action'.³¹ This suggests a greater level of integration than had previously been argued. Nevertheless, it does seem that the splitting of the working population into two camps, divided by 'race' and religion, competing for jobs, caused bitter, long-lasting conflict. In the 1930s the idea of the Irish providing cheap labour and keeping native Scots out of work was a potent part of the PAS rhetoric both in speeches and in the party journal as we shall see in chapter 6.

As noted above, commentators have asserted that with the active guidance of their church Irish RC immigrants created exclusive communities. Action to maintain this separation continued well into the twentieth century in Scotland. The *Glasgow Herald* of 25 February 1909 reported that Dr Turner, RC Bishop of Galloway, in a pastoral letter had been quite specific: marriage of a Catholic with a Protestant was a crime and an

abomination. Further, he warned against the dangers RCs incurred by mixing with Protestants in trade unions, benefit societies or social clubs, only the material advantages to be derived from such membership restrained him from laying the ban of the Church upon it. The same newspaper, in a report on 30 October 1912 of a meeting of the Catholic Truth Society in Edinburgh, recorded that in a discussion of the National Insurance Act 1911 a delegate argued that if all RCs chose RC societies for insurance there could be separate RC hospitals and other institutions. The Catholic Truth Society, formed to provide a focus for RCs, was set up in 1885 by the Bishop of Salford as a propagandist organisation. Other organisations serving to keep RCs as a self-contained society were the Catholic Young Men's Society and guilds for members of various employments set up in the early nineteen hundreds. The establishment of RC football clubs, Hibernian in Leith in 1875, Celtic in Glasgow in 1887 and Dundee Hibernian (now Dundee United) in 1909 was a facet of this policy of social separation, a policy that was successful, but at a price.³² The creation of exclusive social enclaves made assimilation difficult if not impossible. The clergy discouraged RCs attempts to integrate into the wider community for fear of losing them from the faith. A significant influence was that in the years up to 1930 the majority of secular RC priests in Scotland were Irish born.³³ In a period when employers provided housing for their workers, recruitment policies created residential areas which were predominantly Protestant such as Sunnyside or RC as in Dundyvan in Coatbridge.³⁴ However, in Scotland the divisions were never as stark as those in Northern Ireland where, 'in 1972 in Belfast 71 per cent of Protestant households were in streets that were almost exclusively Protestant, while 66 per cent of Catholics lived in streets that were almost entirely Catholic'.³⁵

In the 1930s the other significant body of RCs in Scotland were Italian immigrants and their families. They seem to have found their place in Scottish society without undue difficulty. There were comparatively few of them, still only around 23,000 in 1993.³⁶ Unlike the Irish they did not try to create 'an internal community on religious lines'.³⁷ Typically they were engaged in small family based retail businesses, the family usually living above the shop. They were therefore dispersed geographically and 'lack of residential propinquity coupled with long working hours undoubtedly weakened the social cohesion of the Scottish Italian Community'.³⁸ It seems that in Edinburgh, as in the rest of Scotland, during the 1930s they were accepted by their neighbours as part of the wider community. In Newhaven, for instance, there were few RCs, just the owners of the ice-cream shops and their families. The children of these families attended the local Victoria Primary School, proceeding to RC schools for secondary education.³⁹

Reaction to the Incomers

The Patronage Act of 1712 was the major cause of dissent within the Church of Scotland throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Opposition to it caused the expulsion of a number of ministers in 1740 who set up the Secession Church, which itself split into four new dissenting churches. Schismatic congregations came to form a small but significant part of the wide Presbyterian church but a more serious split occurred in the next century. At the Disruption in 1843 the established church lost close on half its members when, in a dispute over the rights of congregations in the calling of ministers, Thomas Chalmers led most of those ministers known as evangelicals out of the General Assembly and formed the Free Church of Scotland, free that is from

patronage. This might have seemed a serious blow to Presbyterianism but paradoxically it was strengthened in some ways by the fervour with which the contending parties laid claim to be the true Church of Scotland.⁴⁰ The renewed energy of the Free Church led to 'the building of hundreds of new churches, manses and schools, as well as theological colleges'.⁴¹ The Free Church itself split in 1893 when the Free Presbyterian Church was born. J. L. MacLeod in his analysis of the events leading up to this split concluded that 'while it was not a direct cause of the Second Disruption, the rise of Roman Catholicism in the nineteenth century was to have a profound and long-term impact in forming the Free Presbyterian psyche'.⁴² Certainly, anti-Roman Catholicism was one aspect of their religion which was not changed by these schisms. Indeed it became more vigorous in the second half of the nineteenth century when, as Devine notes, the restoration of the RC hierarchy in England in 1850 heightened anti-papery feelings and 'for a year and more, meetings were held throughout Scotland and numerous petitions submitted to parliament in an attempt to combat the menace of "papal aggression"'.⁴³

Reports of alarm caused among indigenous Scots by the influx of Irish RCs are understandable when one considers the extraordinary rate of immigration in the nineteenth century as described at pages 90 & 91. As we have seen, Census returns made after the famine show a remarkably constant number of Irish born in the Scottish population, 207,000 in 1851 and 205,000 in 1901. Four out of five of these immigrants were RCs.⁴⁴ In the Census Report for 1871 the Registrar General for Scotland, W. Pitt Dundas, voiced the fears of the establishment.

The immigration of such a body of labourers of the lowest class, with scarcely any education, cannot but have the most prejudicial effects on the Population. As yet the great body of these Irish do not seem to have improved by their residence among us; and it is quite certain that the native Scot who has associated with them has most certainly deteriorated.⁴⁵

By the 1880s, then, the RC Irish had become a firmly established and well-organised community, but a disliked and troublesome element of society. The *Edinburgh Review* of January to April 1868 commented:

It seems strange that the Roman Catholics of England, who are mostly Irish, should be only a thirtieth part of the whole population of England and Wales, and yet that the Irish should be one-fifth of all the prisoners. And in Scotland where the Irish are one-fifteenth of the population, the Irish are one fourth of the criminals.⁴⁶

The immigrants were not distributed evenly among their hosts, in some areas forming a disproportionately large part of the population. By 1851 half of the labour force in the Dundee linen industry were Irish born.⁴⁷ In that year the Irish born were 18.8% of the town's population.⁴⁸ W.M. Walker notes that in Dundee 'while the number of Irish-born declined, the number of children of unmixed Irish blood continued to grow'.⁴⁹ However, the main concentrations were in west central Scotland. In 1881 Glasgow had 13.1% Irish-born residents, Greenock, 16.1% and Port Glasgow, 27.9%.⁵⁰ Industrial

development, particularly coal mining, brought increasing numbers of immigrants to Ayrshire and Lanarkshire in the 1850-75 period, spreading later into Fife and the Lothians. The number of Irish-born residents in Fife increased from 2,062 to 4,264 between 1901 and 1911.⁵¹ In 1861 35.8% of the male working population of Coatbridge were Irish-born.⁵² The immigrants brought with them the religious strife so marked in Ireland. William S. Marshall has shown a correlation between the development of the coal and iron industries in Lanarkshire and Ayrshire and the growth of the Orange Order in Scotland.⁵³ The village of Larkhall was a bastion of the Order, which experienced a marked growth in Lanarkshire during the second half of the nineteenth century as more Ulster Protestants joined the mining work-force.⁵⁴ The part played by the Orange Order in sectarian conflict in Scotland is considered later in this chapter.

Revival of the RC Church in Scotland

Anti-Roman Catholicism was rife throughout the nineteenth century. Led by eminent members of the Presbyterian churches and some prominent politicians, it was a major factor in national politics. Yet the RC church steadily strengthened its position in Scotland. This was due mainly to the flow of Irish RC immigrants but a significant influence was the increased centralisation of the United Kingdom administration in which Scotland came to be treated more as a province than a separate country, a partner. Irish interests became of more concern to the English dominated parliament than Scotland's affairs. Even the establishment of the National Association for Vindication of Scottish Rights in 1853 failed to improve the situation. The association was dissolved in 1856. Meantime RC prospects improved. The prohibition on performing religious

services was repealed in Scotland in 1793 and emancipation was granted in 1829 when the RC community in Scotland totalled about 70,000.⁵⁵ Further relief measures were enacted later in the century. All of this was disquieting to Protestants. Restoration in 1878 of the RC hierarchy in Scotland by Pope Leo XIII was another cause of concern. Political events which would lead in time to further emancipation for the majority of RCs were also unfolding. These were the Parliamentary Reform Acts of 1832, 1868 and 1884 which prepared the way for further reform of electoral law in 1918 and 1928 when full adult suffrage, not dependent on property tenure, was granted. This last was disproportionately advantageous to RCs who, until mid-twentieth century, were likely to be among the poorer categories of citizens and therefore less likely to qualify for the vote. Tom Gallagher notes that 'the material gains it (Labour) brought ordinary Catholics... were painfully few till the 1940s'.⁵⁶ T.C. Smout found that it was not until 1950 'that being Catholic ceased to mean being at the bottom of the pile in manufacturing employments'.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, in early twentieth century, the developments which were considered to be benefiting RCs were disquieting to the many people in Scotland who considered the Roman Church pernicious. The RC view of the reason for the relief measures was not reassuring. A Jesuit, W.J. Amherst, declared that, 'fear has been the prevailing motive of all Acts of Relief.... since the passing of the Emancipation Act ... the most substantial of those Acts which have passed of late years have been promoted.... in order to gain or not to lose the Catholic Vote'.⁵⁸ The political impact of the organised RC vote was already significant. It was a frequent accusation of the PAS in the 1930s that the votes of RCs were priest-directed.

Development of Anti-Irish RC Feeling

By the middle of the nineteenth century traditional anti-Roman Catholicism was evolving into Anti-Irish Roman Catholicism. In 1848 the Scottish Association for Opposing Prevalent Errors, in which prominent members of Presbyterian churches in Edinburgh were active, issued a report in a pamphlet headed 'Popery and its Cognate Superstitions'. It referred to 'the gigantic efforts which the Church of Rome has been of late years putting forth to establish her ascendancy in Britain and its Colonies'. It ended with a call for friends of bible truth in Britain 'to bestir themselves for resisting the encroachments and counteracting the schemes of Popish superstition'.⁵⁹ The Edinburgh Irish Mission had as its remit the conversion of 'Irish Romanists'. It was under the charge of a committee of the Free Church Presbytery of Edinburgh and was supported by various Protestant denominations. In its report for 1851, entitled 'The True Way of Dealing Successfully with Popery', the Mission declared, 'We know the evils of Popery, that oft threatens our liberty', and advocated action to save the nation, indeed civilisation.⁶⁰ Such threats to liberty were made explicit in the September 1851 issue of an RC journal, *The Rambler*. An article considered the situation that would arise if a RC had power and addressed Protestants thus:

You ask, if he were lord in the land, and you were in a minority, if not in numbers yet in power, what would he do to you?....If it would benefit the cause of Catholicism, he would tolerate you; if expedient he would imprison you, banish you, fine you, possibly he might even hang you. But be assured of one thing; he would never tolerate you for the

sake of the 'glorious principles of civil and religious liberty'.⁶¹

The Government grant to Maynooth College in Ireland where priests were trained was a central issue in Edinburgh during the parliamentary election of 1852 and the Scottish Reformation Society from its base in Edinburgh addressed a pamphlet to the electors of Scotland exhorting them to 'Vote for no man who is not a decided Protestant, prepared to withdraw the Maynooth Grant, and to resist all national grants to Popery'.⁶² The pamphlet quoted Lord Arundel and Surrey, speaking in the House of Commons, 'the Church of Rome is antagonistic to Protestantism and as long as the world lasts will continue so until Protestantism is extinct'.⁶³ The Reform Act of 1832 had emancipated the middle order of people in the burghs, increasing the Scottish electorate from some 4,600 to around 64,500 and the new electors were keen to use their votes.⁶⁴ Religion, which had been central to the political disputes of the previous century, was still an important influence in politics. T.B. Macaulay, later Lord Macaulay, was challenged at two Parliamentary elections in Edinburgh by 'No Popery' candidates. In 1846 he was opposed by Sir Culling Eardley Smith, standing for the maintenance of Protestantism in Scotland and against Popery. The *Scotsman* of 15 July 1846 reports a meeting of RC electors in the Merchant Hall in Edinburgh at which the chairman, Mr W.B.D.D. Turnbull, said he 'was determined to support Mr Macaulay because he was opposed on the present occasion on the old bigoted ground of "No Popery"'. Macaulay won by 1,735 votes to 832. However, he lost his seat in the General Election of 1847 when he was opposed by an anti-Maynooth candidate, Mr Charles Cowan, a member of the Free Church. An election address for Cowan urged 'Christian men ought to send Christian

men to represent them'.⁶⁵ In this context Christian meant Presbyterian. Macaulay's nephew, George Otto Trevelyan, in his account of the two contests, makes it clear that Macaulay's support for a government grant to Maynooth College was the cause of his defeat.⁶⁶ Macaulay regained his Edinburgh seat at the 1852 General Election.

After the passing of the RC Emancipation Act in 1829 and the subsequent restoration of the hierarchy in England and Scotland, declarations by the Pope of RC principles and policies for Britain were dubbed 'Papal aggression' by Presbyterians. The Scottish Reformation Society, consisting of members of all evangelical Protestant denominations, was set up in 1850 to 'resist the aggressions of Popery'. The need for a permanent organisation was stressed:

The Society is formed in the anticipation of a prolonged and sustained effort being necessary in opposition to the progress of popery. If our object were merely to deal with the particular aggression on the part of the Pope which has occasioned the present movement, no permanent organisation would be required.⁶⁷

The Scottish Protestant Alliance was formed at a meeting in Edinburgh on 2 March 1854 with the declared purpose of combating Popery. The manifesto quoted from the Pope's allocution to the cardinals of September 1851; 'the Catholic religion with all its rights, ought to be exclusively dominant, in such sort that every other worship shall be banished and interdicted'.⁶⁸ The Alliance published a *Monthly Newsletter* which set out to expose the machinations of the RC Church to re-conquer Britain. It made a use of history

similar to that later made by the PAS. The index of the *Newsletter* for 1890-91 listed topics which are mirrored in the content of Cormack's 1930s journal, *Protestant 'Action'*; the Reformation, Protestant martyrs, the Inquisition, traitorous activities of Jesuits, papal conspiracies for the overthrow of the British government and the iniquities of the Church of Rome. For the PAS 'papal conspiracies' went even farther. The 15 April 1939 issue of the journal quoted with approval from a speech by Mr Hawthorne Winner to a meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in which he asserted that 'Communism and political Romanism' were internal enemies of American democracy, each seeking the 'establishment of absolute world dictatorship'.

Sectarian Conflict

The coming of Irish immigrants to Scotland, particularly the west central area, in such large numbers brought a degree of religious conflict to some districts. Many parts of the country were not directly affected, some because they attracted no immigrants or very few. Others were little affected, as Campbell points out, because the Irish immigrants they attracted were Protestants who were able to integrate with the indigenous population.⁶⁹ So, Larkhall, where the immigrants were generally skilled men from Presbyterian areas, had little or no trouble while Coatbridge with its high proportion of unskilled, mainly RC, immigrants was subject to numerous incidents of Green and Orange clashes.⁷⁰ Where there was such conflict it imposed a severe burden on the local residents and the police. RC immigrants brought with them their Catholic organisations. Immigrant Ulster Protestants and militiamen returning from duty in Ulster founded and supported Orange Lodges, upholders of the Union and the Protestant faith, first in

western counties but later spreading throughout the central belt of Scotland. Their parades, and indeed their very existence, were resented by RCs. Contemporary newspapers present a record of sporadic violence arising from the uneasy co-existence of the Irish RC communities with the Presbyterian majority. The *Glasgow Herald* of 17th July 1835 had a report of a party of Ribbonmen (an Irish RC organisation) coming from Glasgow to attack an Orange march in Airdrie on 13 July. At their rendezvous the police found a number of Irishmen armed with guns, scythes, hooks and other weapons. Their ringleaders were arrested. Nevertheless some 200 attacked the marchers. The Orangemen quickly yielded to the police but the RCs continued to riot until subdued by the police, aided by the townspeople. In the same newspaper there is a report of a party of RCs from Greenock attacking Orangemen in Port Glasgow on the occasion of the 12th July march commemorating the 1690 Battle of the Boyne. Several were arrested. The report records that the 'rioters were not only formidable in number but were armed with deadly weapons'. The same issue of the paper reported much larger scale riots in Liverpool and Belfast on 12th July when RCs attacked and looted houses. For some people in some places the history of RC versus Protestant conflict had strongly felt relevance in the nineteenth century. It has continued to have an impact throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century. Trouble was not confined to the occasions of Orange marches. The *Glasgow Herald* for 21st July 1840 reports a murder at Bishopbriggs in which the accused were described as 'strict disciples of Father Matthew', a RC priest and temperance reformer. Edinburgh's principal newspaper, the *Scotsman*, of 16th December 1840 in reporting the case says that more than twenty labourers were arrested, all natives of Ireland and goes on 'the murder was perpetrated with the

knowledge and acquiescence of the greater proportion of the Irish labourers'.

Even in the east of the central belt, where RCs were not so numerous, there were incidents causing fear and dislike of the Irish, always assumed to be RC. The *Scotsman* of 4th March 1846 reports a riot at Gorebridge, where a mob of some 150-200 Irishmen from a labourers' camp on the Hawick railway line rescued two of their number from the village lock-up. On their way back to camp they encountered two policemen whom they attacked with a cry of 'murder the police'. One of the constables was killed. From another labourers' camp, housing Scots and Englishmen, a posse set out for the Irish camp. Most of the Irishmen escaped, leaving their women and children behind. The men of the posse beat the remaining Irishmen, sparing the women and children, but they burned down the Irish huts. The Irish, meanwhile, had retreated to Edinburgh where they found reinforcements for a revenge attack on the Scots/English camp. However, they were intercepted and turned back by a detachment of soldiers. This was sensational reporting for the time but not more so than that of a riot at West Calder, only a little farther from the city. On 8th January, 1848 the *Scotsman* reported 'another of these outrages which of late have become frequent'. Irish labourers, discharged on completion of the railway on which they had been engaged, had decided to revenge themselves on the inhabitants of West Calder and on the Scots and English navvies lodging there because of the ready aid which they had given the police to repress Irish disturbances. Between three and four hundred Irishmen attacked the village. A defence force of villagers and Scots/English navvies combined with the police to drive them off. The military had eventually to be called out to control the situation.

These are examples of reports appearing in newspapers over a long period of time, painting a picture of Irish RC immigrants as intransigent troublemakers. Since the press is acknowledged both to reflect and influence public opinion the reports are an indication of one of the ways in which Irish RCs came to have such low esteem in the eyes of the non-RC majority of Scots in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. It is noticeable in all these cases that Irish workmen were brigaded separately from other labourers, and that there was an assumption that they were RCs. Also, there is no acceptance that trouble may have been caused by errant Irish labourers or provoked by troublemakers. All of the Irish in the encampments were held to blame. They were a separate race of delinquents, portrayed in the native press not as a downtrodden minority but as belligerent interlopers. It seems that to some of the indigenous population, Irish RCs remained foreign however long they had lived in the country. It was their religion that caused them to be regarded as alien for so long. The *Glasgow Herald* of 13 January 1854 reported on a supplement to the 1851 Census Report for England and Wales containing an enumeration of religious communities in these countries. 'Roman Catholics, or Papists' were listed among the foreign religions. *The Rambler* of 3rd April 1849 had expressed this alienation well, 'If ever there was a principle and a body of men existing in a Kingdom and not of it, it is Catholicism and Catholics in Calvinistic and Puritan Scotland'. This perception persisted into the twentieth century so that it was still plausible for Cormack to describe Irish RCs as alien in the 1930s.

The development of a community to a great extent divorced from the main body of Scottish society fostered an antipathy to Irish RCs who could be portrayed as alien

interlopers. Together with the perception of these immigrants as intransigent troublemakers, it was used in the early twentieth century to justify the anti-Irish Roman Catholicism that fuelled a campaign for a curb on immigration, a campaign which, as we shall see in chapter 4, was inspired by the major Presbyterian churches, supported by the press and given favourable consideration by members of the government in the Scottish administration. Opposition to immigration of Irish RCs was a constant theme of the PAS in the 1930s, warranting seventeen references in the party's journal in the period 11 December 1937 to 16 September 1939. The issue of 23 July 1938 summed up the PAS view, 'people who do not wish to identify themselves and their children with the community they have come to live amongst have no right to be citizens'.

Where Poorer RCs Lived in Edinburgh

The religious segregation seen in some parts of the western central belt, was, perhaps, not quite so obvious in the cities, but there were concentrations of poor RCs there too. Since they disproportionately filled the ranks of the least skilled and poorest paid, they could afford only the poorest housing. In the cities this meant the worst of the city centre slums. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Craig's New Town was built for the upper and middle classes of Edinburgh, resulting in a geographical social division. By mid-nineteenth century the Old Town residents were overwhelmingly working and lower middle class. Ironically, the coming of the railways on which so many Irishmen worked, indeed had been recruited specifically for, worsened the conditions of the poor city dweller. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century crowded slums in the city centres were cleared away to allow the

construction of the main termini. Already overcrowded conditions were exacerbated. The more prosperous working class moved outward to better dwellings, albeit still tenemental, in the inner suburbs. Most Irish RCs, with the rest of the bottom layer of society, remained crammed together in the slums remaining. In Edinburgh this meant the Old Town areas - Cowgate, Canongate, Grassmarket, West Port, Lawnmarket and High Street. A map of the central area of Edinburgh in the 1930s is at Appendix 11. In 1851, of the 16,464 population of the Old Town age sixteen to sixty, 28.7 per cent had been born in Ireland. In one parish, St. John's, which included part of the Grassmarket, the Lawnmarket and part of the Cowgate, Irish born were 46.6 percent of the total.⁷¹ If the under sixteen progeny of the immigrants were included the proportion would be greater.⁷² A contemporary social observer wrote, 'there are thousands of Irish beggars in Edinburgh, and... the importation of them is going on daily', and 'the Irish mightily enhance our poor-rates; they draw heavily upon the hospital and other charities; - and their police and jail account!'.⁷³ *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland*, referring to the nineteenth and early twentieth century, says of the Cowgate and Grassmarket area, 'here, after all, more so than in the most desolate section of the Royal Mile itself, were the homes of the ragged despondent poor. Shunned by respectable citizens, the Cowgate and Grassmarket were gathering places for the community's outcasts'.⁷⁴

Tramways changed the social geography of the city. Until this form of public transport was introduced in late nineteenth century, Edinburgh was a 'walking town'. Nearly everyone lived within walking distance of their place of work, shops and places of entertainment. The railways had changed this to some extent but their intra-city effect

was small compared to that of tramways. A. D. Ochojna has demonstrated how the Edinburgh and Glasgow tramways changed the residential pattern of the cities.⁷⁵ In the main their effect was to enable the better-off to live farther from their places of business. So, in Edinburgh the tramways served the city centre and new private housing developments at the Braids and Fairmilehead along with prosperous housing areas in the Grange, Merchiston, Murrayfield, Corstorphine, and Liberton, a benefit only for those with above average incomes. This left space in the inner suburbs for an outward movement of well-doing working class, leaving only the lowest paid to occupy the Old Town slums. They could afford neither the rent for better accommodation nor the cost of commuting. For many people Edinburgh remained a walking town.

As the century progressed residential segregation became more pronounced. By the beginning of the twentieth century the gentry, professionals and successful businessmen had deserted the Edinburgh city centre, apart from the New Town, for the more salubrious suburbs. The central areas became more and more crowded with increased population and continuing presence of most of the capital's industry and commerce. As we have seen the old town tenements of the Canongate, Cowgate, Blackfriars Street, St Mary's Street and the numerous wynds off these main thoroughfares housed the lowest paid working class, among whom Irish RC immigrants and their families bulked large. Of the 1,081 baptisms during 1933 in the RC Edinburgh Diocese, 200 were recorded in St Patrick's church in the Cowgate.⁷⁶ The earliest statistics of congregations available are for 1943, after the decanting of many slum dwellers to new housing estates, when St Patrick's in the Cowgate area had 4,909 of approximately 35,000 RCs in Edinburgh,

which had a population of 439,010 at the 1931 census.⁷⁷ The congregation at St Cuthbert's in Slateford, an area with much new housing, had grown to 3,181. These figures are for church rolls or their equivalents; the number of active members or regular attendees is not known. Leith, which had been a separate burgh from 1833 to 1920, also had a stark separation of the classes. From the eighteenth century the more well-to-do citizens had chosen to make their homes out of the old port area, principally in the Trinity and Inverleith districts. Increasingly from the latter half of the nineteenth century the same kind of people, the major employers, professional people and owners of middle-sized businesses, made their homes in the more affluent districts of Edinburgh. By the 1930s Leith's population was preponderantly working and lower middle class, the latter mainly small shopkeepers. The densely populated streets and wynds of the old port area were occupied mostly by the poorest paid and very often unemployed. It was here that Leith's RCs were concentrated, in the streets fringing the docks; the Shore, the Kirkgate and the warren of slums between the main thoroughfare, Great Junction Street, and the dock gates. A map of this part of Leith in 1935 is at Appendix 10. St Mary's, Star of the Sea church in the Kirkgate area had the second highest number of RC baptisms in Edinburgh during 1933 with 176. Leith had a long established Irish immigrant community. When dock construction and pier extension began in the late 1840s, 'there was a large influx of Irish labour... Many of these navvies found work in Leith, not only in the docks, but also on the extension of the railways'.⁷⁸ In 1943, despite considerable population movement to new housing in Restalrig, Granton and elsewhere Leith had 3,367 of Edinburgh's RC population. The receiving areas showed increased congregations. The parish priest of St Ninian's in Restalrig

returned a figure of 5,000 for his church, while a new church at Granton had 2,224. The 1930s was a period of population movement due to slum clearance in Edinburgh and the concentrations of RC communities were breaking up but, nevertheless, as the above figures show, there were during the decade locations where they formed considerable, recognisable minorities of the local population. They were not quite parallel to the Jewish ghettos of eastern Europe but, nevertheless, quarters distinguished by residents regarded as alien.

The immigration of Irish RCs was a constant concern in Scotland during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. The middle years of the nineteenth century had seen a flood of Irish immigrants and we have noted that the decennial censuses of population in Scotland revealed a consistently high number of Irish born residents from 1871 to 1901, the number falling in later censuses. These figures do not reflect the full extent of the impact of Irish immigration as they do not include the second and later generations of the Scoto-Irish. Also, the Census figures may not be wholly accurate. In his report on the 1911 Census the Registrar General for Scotland remarked, 'no doubt there were many with English, Welsh and Irish birthplaces but claiming Scottish nationality'.⁷⁹ There are no exact figures for Irish immigrants over these years but the Registrar General for Scotland, in a report dated 30th December 1936 to the Secretary of State, estimated net Irish immigration in the period 1861 - 1931 as 195,000.⁸⁰

'Ne Temere', the Education (S) Act 1918, the Irish Free State

Events closely following the end of the World War of 1914-1918 served to intensify

Protestant concern. The operation of the Vatican's 'Ne Temere' decree on mixed marriages and the Education (Scotland) Act 1918, which brought Roman Catholic schools into the state education system, caused flurries of agitation which are discussed in chapter 4. In the wake of the granting of home rule to the IFS in 1920 there were reports of Protestants being persecuted. Dennis Kennedy in *The Widening Gulf* says that Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, in talks with Michael Collins, the Irish leader, pointed out that there had been thirty-seven murders in the South during a period of less than six months. Kennedy quotes the *Belfast News-Letter* of 9 May 1922 on 'the systematic persecution of Protestants which is going on all over the South and West of Ireland'.⁸¹ On 24 June the *Belfast News-Letter* returned to the subject saying 'The campaign to either exterminate or expel from the twenty-six counties the Protestants of Southern Ireland proceeds unchecked' and cited the decline of 100,000 in the number of Protestants in Southern Ireland between 1911 and 1926.⁸² Such reports coming at a time when Irish RCs in Scotland were complaining of discrimination, falling far short of killing and forced expatriation, were not likely to be seen as forceful arguments for reaching an accommodation with people still commonly regarded as alien. As we shall see in chapter 6, the PAS made much of such reports in the party journal, referring to the people of the Irish Free State as the 'uncivilised Irish'.

Immigrant Paupers

When the IFS ceased to be part of the United Kingdom, although remaining part of the Empire, arguments that had served to deflect criticism of immigration policy were weakened. While the whole of Ireland was part of the UK, any Irish who became a

responsibility of the poor law system could be returned to their parish of settlement, that is their native parish. There were fairly regular returns of batches of paupers from Scotland to Ireland. The Board of Supervision of the Poor Law reported that in 1893, two hundred and seventeen paupers and forty-seven dependants had been removed in this way. The same report noted that at 14th May 1893 about one tenth of the number of paupers receiving relief in Scotland were of Irish nationality, 5,871 paupers with 3,190 dependants out of a total of 59,826 paupers and 32,178 dependants.⁸³ The Inspector of the Poor for the Parish of Glasgow reported that in 1908 there were 12,000 Irish poor chargeable to the parish councils in Scotland.⁸⁴ After the establishment of the IFS the arrangements for return of paupers there ceased to operate and during the 1920s there was constant agitation about Irish paupers as part of the argument for control of immigration. Viable reciprocal arrangements continued in force for Northern Irishmen but they do not seem to have been a problem. The proportion of Irish migrating to Scotland who originated in the South and therefore were probably RCs increased in the fifteen years to 1931.⁸⁵ This thorny question of immigrants as a burden on the public purse persisted into the 1930s. In the House of Commons on 7 December 1933 Captain Ramsay asked the Secretary of State for Scotland how many persons born in the IFS were resident in Scotland and how many of these persons were in receipt of poor relief. Answer: At the 1931 Census, 54,854 persons born in the IFS were resident in Scotland. Another 874 persons resident in Scotland had been born in Ireland but it was not possible to say whether they had been born in the IFS. Exact information regarding the latter part of the question is not available, but on 15th May 1933, 13,678 Irish-born persons, including dependants but not including able-bodied poor were chargeable to

Scottish Poor Law funds.⁸⁶ This answer seemed to confirm the fears of native Scots that indigent Irish immigrants were a burden on the native population. It was an issue for the PAS in the 1930s when Edinburgh Town Council was concerned at the cost of poor relief for persons from the IFS.

Public Perception of the 'Invasion'

Throughout the 1920s in Scotland the 'Irish Invasion' was a common topic of letters to newspapers, articles and editorials, and was the subject of Parliamentary Questions as we shall see below. The number of immigrant Irish who were alleged to become charges on the public purse, unemployment benefit or poor relief, caused continuing concern. At the same time there were complaints that while unemployment was running at exceptionally high levels, immigrant Irishmen were getting work at the expense of native Scots. A letter dated July 1929 from the Scottish Office to the Trades Facilities Act Committee in London bears out this latter complaint. It reported that contractors were ignoring arrangements for getting Scottish workers into jobs. The British Aluminium Corporation obtained financial assistance under the Act for the Lochaber Water Scheme at Fort William on the understanding that the scheme would provide work for Scots unemployed. In the event the contractors ignored the Ministry of Labour attempts to place Scottish workmen and from the outset engaged an appreciable number of migrant Irish labourers.⁸⁷ A letter in the *Scotsman* of 6 May 1935 claimed that Scots were unable to get jobs on major construction contracts. 'A few hundreds or a thousand, as the case may be, of Irish from the Free State inevitably get the job'. The 'Irish Invasion' was paralleled by a great exodus of Scots. T.M. Devine, in considering the

paradox of Scottish emigration during an age of economic expansion, noted that 2,332,608 people left Scotland for overseas destinations between 1825 and 1938. Over a large part of the same period Irish immigration into Scotland was on the increase.⁸⁸ The emigrants were often skilled men or professionals or entrepreneurs while the immigrants were overwhelmingly unskilled men from rural areas. Devine sees part of the reason for the apparent paradox in the effect of the Irish on the Scottish labour market, driving down wages.⁸⁹ TC Smout concurs in his analysis of earnings in Scotland during the early years of the twentieth century, quoting the results of a study showing that real wages in Scotland on the eve of the 1914-1918 war were '13 per cent below those in London and 10-12 per cent adrift of those...in Lancashire' and elsewhere in England.⁹⁰ While this disparity is of long standing, it does seem that, at least in some part, immigration of Irish to Scotland by depressing wages led to emigration of Scots.

This chapter has been part of the attempt to show how a view of history and recent experience conditioned many people in Edinburgh to an acceptance of the anti-Irish Roman Catholic propaganda of the PAS. The perception of Roman Catholicism as alien, which arose in the period of the Reformation, was reinforced in the religious struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as we have seen in chapter 2 and was received wisdom in the eighteenth century. Over these years the RC Church had been identified as the enemy of freedom and democracy, as envisaged by Protestants. Their great fear had been of invasion by a Continental RC army but it had always been accompanied by concern at the possibility of subversion from within, although the number of RCs in Britain made success in this unlikely. However, in the nineteenth and

early twentieth century immigration from Ireland, the 'Irish Invasion', changed the situation, dramatically increasing the proportion of RCs in the population, particularly in Scotland. By the early twentieth century traditional anti-Roman Catholicism had evolved into Anti-Irish Roman Catholicism as Irish RC immigrants and their successors increased in numbers and influence. Their presence had become increasingly obvious both physically in the shape of churches and other religious establishments and politically in the influence of RC voters. This caused increasing alarm among Protestants and demands for action to limit immigration from the IFS became clamant in the 1920s and provided an important plank for the PAS platform in the 1930s.

It is important to recognise that for most of Edinburgh's population in the 1930s much of what has been described above was not history. It was part of their own experience, their here and now, fitting seamlessly onto that version of Presbyterian history that was part of their concept of themselves as Scottish. By the early years of the twentieth century the religious, economic, political and social repercussions of the 'Irish Invasion' had become a preoccupation for many Scots, presenting what seemed an insoluble problem. Irish RC immigrants and their families had become a significant sector of Scottish society and yet were perceived as not being part of the Scottish nation because of their religion and their deliberate segregation from the host population. They and Irish Protestant immigrants had brought with them the historical antagonisms left by the religious and political strife of the seventeenth century, that manifested itself in the Orange and Green demonstrations and counter-demonstrations marking anniversaries of the Battle of the Boyne and the Siege of Londonderry. The next chapter will examine the

effect on Scottish Presbyterians of the growing RC population and the concomitant increase in the manifestation of the presence and influence of the RC Church and the campaign for a curb on Irish RC immigration to Scotland.

Notes to Chapter 3

- 1 Carol Z. Wiener, 'The Beleaguered Isle. A Study of Elizabethan and early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism', *Past and Present*, 51 (May 1971), 27-62.
- 2 Robin Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', in *The Origins of the English Civil War*, pp. 144-167 (p. 23).
- 3 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation* (London, 1992) p. 24.
- 4 W.H. Clements, *Towers of Strength: The Story of the Martello Towers* (Barnsley, 1999).
- 5 Ian. A Muirhead, 'Catholic Emancipation: Scottish Reactions in 1829', *The Innes Review*, 24 (1973), 103-120 (p. 119).
- 6 *Blackwood's Magazine*, October 1838, p. 497.
- 7 S.G.E. Lythe *The Economy of Scotland 1550-1625* (Edinburgh, 1960), pp. 68.
- 8 Rosalind Mitchison 'Ireland and Scotland: The Seventeenth-Century Legacies Compared', in *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development*, ed. T.M. Devine and David Dickson (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 2-11 (p. 7).
- 9 Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (London, 2002) shows how the kirk wrought profound cultural change.
- 10 Patrick Macrory, *The Siege of Derry* (London, 1980), p. 215.
- 11 George Walker, *A True Account of the Siege of Derry* (London, 1689), p. 26.
- 12 William S. Marshall, *The Billy Boys: A Concise History of Orangeism in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1996) charts the growth of this organisation in Scotland.
- 13 J. E. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork, 1947), p. 38.

- 14 *Report from the Select Committee on Manufacturers, Commerce and Shipping*, 1833, VI, 697.
- 15 J. E. Handley, *The Navy in Scotland* (Cork, 1970), p. 12.
- 16 Brenda Collins, 'Proto-industrialization and pre-Famine emigration' in *Social History*, 7 (1982), 127-146.
- 17 *Census of Great Britain 1851*, Vol. II, p. 1038.
- 18 *Census of Scotland 1901*, Vol. II, p. 349.
- 19 *Census of Scotland 1871*, Vol. II, p. xxxiv.
- 20 James Darragh, 'The Catholic Population of Scotland since the year 1680', *The Innes Review*, IV (1953), 49-59 (p. 58). These figures are based on estimates by contemporary authorities.
- 21 Tom Gallagher, 'The Catholic Irish in Scotland: In Search of an Identity', in *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde, 1989/90*, ed. by T.M. Devine (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 19-43 (p. 20).
- 22 Alan B. Campbell, *The Lanarkshire Miners: A Social History of their Trade Unions 1775-1974* (Edinburgh, 1979), pp. 191 & 192.
- 23 Gallagher, 'The Catholic Irish in Scotland', p. 21.
- 24 W.M. Walker, 'Irish Immigrants in Scotland: Their Priests, Politics and Parochial Life', *The Historical Journal*, XV, 4, (1972), 649-667 (p. 651).
- 25 James Handley, *The Irish in Scotland 1798-1845* (Cork, 1945), pp. 81-85.
- 26 Sheridan Gilley, 'Catholics and Socialists in Glasgow 1906-1912', in *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities in British Society: Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society 1870-1914*, ed. K. Lunn (Folkestone, 1980), pp. 160-200 (p. 165).
- 27 T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* (London, 1999), p. 495.
- 28 Sidney and Olive Checkland, *Industry and Ethos: Scotland 1832-1914*, (London, 1984), pp. 86 & 88, take this view of the immigrants.
- 29 *Reports from the Commissioners on Mining Districts*, 2 vols, Irish University Press series of British Parliamentary Papers (Dublin, 1971), 1, p. 355. The reports have evidence of the use of Irish labour to depress wages and control the labour force.

- 30 Martin J. Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797-1848: Trade Unions, Strikes and Political Movements* (Edinburgh, 1998), p. 257.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 257.
- 32 Alan Lugton, *The Making of Hibernian 1893-1914: The Brave Years* (Edinburgh, 1997) says that the team 'represented the Roman Catholic church and the political aspirations of the Irish in Scotland', p. 151.
- 33 Bernard J. Canning, *Irish-born Secular Priests in Scotland 1829-1979* (Paisley, 1979), appendix XII, pp 420-424.
- 34 Campbell, *Lanarkshire Miners*, p. 190.
- 35 Maurice Goldring, *Belfast: From Loyalty to Rebellion* (London, 1991), p. 77.
- 36 Terri Colpi, 'The Scottish Italian Community: Senza Un Campanile?', *The Innes Review*, 44 (1993), 153-167 (p. 153).
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 161.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 161.
- 39 George Hackland Interview, appendix 13.
- 40 P.C.M Hillis considers the social causes and effects in 'The Sociology of the Disruption', in *Scotland in the Age of Disruption*, ed. by Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 44-62. D.J. Withrington looks for the social and political implications in 'The Disruption: a century and a half of historical interpretation', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 1993, XXV, Part 1 (Edinburgh, 1993), 118-153.
- 41 A.C. Cheyne, *The Ten years Conflict and the Disruption* (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 12.
- 42 James Lachlan MacLeod, *The Second Disruption: The Free Church in Victorian Scotland and the Origins of the Free Presbyterian Church*, Scottish Historical Review Monograph No. 8 (East Linton, Scotland, 2000), p. 23.
- 43 Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p. 491.
- 44 Gallagher, 'The Catholic Irish in Scotland', p. 20.
- 45 *Census of Scotland 1871*, Vol. I, p. xix.

- 46 *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. CXXVII, January to April 1868, p. 526.
- 47 Collins, p. 9.
- 48 *Census of Great Britain 1851*, Vol. II, p. 1041.
- 49 W.M. Walker, *Juteopolis: Dundee and its textile workers 1885-1923* (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 115.
- 50 *Census of Scotland 1881*, Vol. II, p. 371.
- 51 *Census of Scotland 1901*, Vol. II, p. 344 and 1911, v. II, p. 503.
- 52 Campbell, *The Lanarkshire Miners*, p. 180.
- 53 Marshall, *The Billy Boys*, p. 39.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- 55 David McRoberts, *The Catholic Directory 1829-1975* (Glasgow, 1976), p. 4.
- 56 Gallagher, 'The Catholic Irish in Scotland', p. 27.
- 57 T.C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950* (London, 1987), p. 100.
- 58 W.J. Amherst, *The History of Catholic Emancipation*, 2 vols (London, 1886), I, pp. 69 & 71.
- 59 Scottish Association for Opposing Prevalent Errors, Pamphlet, *Popery and its Cognate Superstitions* (Edinburgh, 1848), p.1.
- 60 *Report of the Edinburgh Irish Mission, 1852*, p. 3.
- 61 *The Rambler*, vol. VIII, September 1851, Part XLV, p. 174.
- 62 Scottish Reformation Society, *Address to the Electors of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1852), p. 2.
- 63 *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- 64 Eric J. Evans, *Parliamentary Reform c1770-1918* (London, 2000), p. 130.
- 65 G. O. Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 2 vols (London, 1876), II, p. 185.

- 66 *Ibid.*, pp. 173-187.
- 67 Robert S. Candlish, *The Aims, the Principles and the Work of the Scottish Reformation Society* (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 2.
- 68 *Manifesto of the Scottish Protestant Alliance; or Reasons for an Enlarged Basis of Union and Action for the Overthrow of Popery in Every Form* (Edinburgh, 1854), p. 5.
- 69 Campbell, *The Lanarkshire Miners*, pp. 191 & 192.
- 70 *Ibid.*, Campbell brings this out in his chapter on 'The Irish', pp. 178-201.
- 71 Thomas Thorburn, *Statistical Analysis of the Census of the City of Edinburgh 1851* (Edinburgh, 1851), p. 7.
- 72 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 73 George Bell, *Day and Night in the Wynds of Edinburgh and Blackfriar's Wynd Analysed*, originally published 1849 reprinted in 1973 with a new introduction by G.H. Martin (Wakefield, 1973), pp. 4 & 5.
- 74 David Keir, ed., *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The City of Edinburgh* (Glasgow, 1966), p. 57.
- 75 A.D. Ochojna, *Lines of Class Distinction: An Economic and Social History of the British Tramcar with special reference to Edinburgh and Glasgow*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1974.
- 76 These figures and the following information on RC congregations were supplied by the Keeper of the Scottish Catholic Archives in Edinburgh.
- 77 *Census of Scotland 1931*, Vol. II, p. 29.
- 78 James Scott Marshall, *The Life and Times of Leith* (Edinburgh, 1985), p. 178.
- 79 *Census of Scotland 1911*, Vol. II, p. v.
- 80 NAS, HH 55/596, SO file 37110/1.
- 81 Dennis Kennedy, *The Widening Gulf: Northern Attitudes to the Independent Irish State 1919-1949* (Belfast, 1988), p. 122.
- 82 *Ibid.*, p. 127.

- 83 NAS, HH 1/1207, SO file S9376/1.
- 84 NAS, HH 1/1207, SO file S9376/76.
- 85 NAS, HH 55/596, SO file 37110/1.
- 86 *House of Commons Hansard*, 7 December 1933, vol. 283, col. 1837.
- 87 NAS, HH 1/544, SO file 22693/8.
- 88 T. M. Devine, 'The Paradox of Scottish Emigration', in *Exploring the Scottish Past: Themes in the History of Scottish Society*, ed. T.M. Devine (East Linton, 1995), pp. 238-250 (p. 239).
- 89 *Ibid.*, p. 246.
- 90 Smout, p. 113.

Chapter 4

Presbyterian Alarm

A commonly held view of RCs in Scotland at the beginning of the twentieth century has been of a minority, constantly on the defensive, discriminated against but striving to be accepted on their own terms in the land where, although mainly of Irish antecedents, most had been born. Irene Maver in her contribution to Devine and Finlay's *Scotland in the Twentieth Century* refers to the 'often observed Catholic defensiveness over their minority status'.¹ In the same article she says that 'the first half of the century was characterised by growing Catholic assertiveness'.² In this chapter I want to show how by the 1930s, of these two characteristics, it was the assertiveness of the RC Church that seemed most manifest to many in the non-RC population and the reaction to what was perceived by some as a threat to the nation.

Assertive Church of Rome

As previously noted (chapter 3, pp. 98-99) the position of the RC church and the RC community in Britain had been improving steadily over the previous century and a half. There were statutory measures: the Relief Act of 1793 protected RCs' property rights, gave admission to public service and guaranteed freedom of worship. The Emancipation Act of 1829 gave RCs the same rights as other citizens and the RC Relief Act of 1926 allowed public manifestations of the faith. Successive Electoral Reform Acts in 1868, 1884 and particularly 1918 increasingly enfranchised non-property owners, disproportionately benefiting RCs in Scotland who were overwhelmingly in the least

affluent levels of society. The Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 brought RC schools into the state system to be supported from the local rates, occasioning complaints throughout the 1920s and 1930s of 'Popery on the Rates'. In parallel with these political changes, in some measure because of these developments, the RC Church was becoming more assertive. The papal statement in 1851 that 'the Catholic religion with all its rights, ought to be exclusively dominant, in such sort that every other worship shall be banished and interdicted' has been noted earlier.³ In 1869 the Pope declared in 'Pastor Aeternus' that 'the Roman Church has the primacy in ordinary authority, by the disposition of the Lord, over all other churches'. The supremacy and infallibility of the Pope was also proclaimed.⁴ In 1877 the Pope avowed that 'conversion of Scotland to Catholicism was his objective'.⁵ The RC hierarchy was restored in Scotland in 1878. An 1891 encyclical 'Rerum Novarum' set out the aim of making the Church more effective socially and politically, by involving the laity under the direction of the clergy in social and political activity in the wider community, the policy known as Catholic Action. It reasserted central control of the church and emphasised its hierarchical nature, the Pope at the summit, descending levels of ecclesiastics with the laity as the broad base.⁶ The encyclical was a call for RCs to take a pro-active political stance. For Scotland Catholic Action sought to unite the RC community to focus on those issues which the Church saw as crucial and to establish a separate identity for RCs.⁷

In a letter to the Scottish RC hierarchy, a translation from the Latin of which was published in full in the *Scotsman* and the *Glasgow Herald* on 30 July 1898, the Pope called for a sustained campaign to 'bring back to the embrace of the Good Shepherd

those whom manifold error causes to stand aloof from the one fold of Christ'.⁸ The editor of the *Scotsman* from 1880-1905 was Charles Alfred Cooper, a RC, and an editorial on the day of publication of the Pope's letter gave it sympathetic treatment: 'Anti-papal fanatics' were ridiculed, but the final comment was on 'the true spirit of the Catholic Church – that pure hostility to religious liberty and free thought which belongs naturally to authority that believes itself infallible'.⁹ There was little reaction to the Pope's letter in the correspondence columns of the *Scotsman*, apart from a letter published on 3 August 1898 from A.A. Isaacs, MA, noting the Pope's reference to the importance of education and pointing out that in Spain, a RC country, only one in three people could read. A leader in the September 1898 edition of the *Bulwark* is dismissive of the Pope's letter, which although addressed to the Scottish bishops, is assumed to be meant for public consumption. The leader comments, 'there may be many ways of catching a bird, but spreading the net in full view is not one of them'.¹⁰ The March 1899 issue of the journal published a long, humorous letter in the Doric from James Wilson of Ayr expressing regret that the Pope 'shou'd be sae misguided as tae think the Scotch folk, hailing frae this airt especially, would be sae easily ta'en in by ony sic wily chaff'.¹¹ In the first decade of the twentieth century there was a chilling reminder of RC policy regarding heretics. F.H. O'Donnell, in a book on education in Ireland, quoted 'Contemporary Jesuit Doctrine approved by the Theologians of the Society, and actually taught....in the Vatican University – The Catholic Church has the right and the duty to kill heretics because it is by fire and sword that heresy can be extirpated....the highest good of the Church is the Unity of Faith, and this cannot be preserved unless heretics are put to death'.¹² Control from the Vatican of political and social activity was at the centre

of Protestant fears of 'popery' which were exacerbated by the issue in 1908 of a new 'Ne Temere' decree reasserting that for RCs only those marriages were valid which had been contracted before a RC parish priest. If a couple who had gone through any other form of marriage separated, they would be free to marry. But this was contrary to the civil law in Scotland. Anyone who had been married by an authorised celebrant was not free to marry unless the marriage was ended by due legal process or by the death of one of the partners. The Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland view of the decree was that it 'declared all marriages invalid unless performed by a Roman Catholic priest... All other marriages... are regarded as not being legal, and the children of such marriages as illegitimate'.¹³ By many people in Scotland the 'Ne Temere' decree was considered a direct challenge to the civil laws of Britain, an impression reinforced by a Code of Canon Law of 1917 declaring the Pope's supremacy in the Church and that he was 'independent from any human authority'.¹⁴ It seemed to some that the state and the constitution of Britain were under attack.

The Roman Catholic Church's claim of primacy, its proselytising, the central control of RC activities and the general assertiveness of Roman Catholics had been and continued to be important and for many people disturbing factors in social and political life in Scotland in the early decades of the twentieth century. Unsurprisingly these aspects of Roman Catholicism were challenged by Cormack's PAS and were themes frequently addressed in its journal *Protestant 'Action'*. Adding to the broad historical context so far outlined, some knowledge of the issues as they appeared to Protestants is essential to understand the appeal that Cormack had for people in Edinburgh in the 1930s.

Protestant Reaction

The increasingly obvious presence of the RC Church in Britain was noted with alarm in the first decade of the twentieth century. T.L. Corbett, Ulster Unionist MP for Down North, speaking in the House of Commons on 26 June 1906, proposed a Bill to appoint Commissioners to consider the growth in numbers of conventual and monastic institutions in Great Britain and Ireland, and whether any further regulations of such institutes were required. He claimed that in England and Wales they had increased from 52 in 1850 to 1057 in 1905 while in Ireland there were 592 such places and in Scotland 62. This was due to an immense influx of religious orders expelled from other countries in the previous twelve to eighteen months.¹⁵ These concerns were echoed in Scotland. In 1909 the Knox Club was formed in Edinburgh. It was described as a new Protestant movement to work for Scotland aiming to 'promote the study of Scottish history, and in particular the period of John Knox; to maintain the Protestant succession to the throne, and all existing safeguards thereto; to resist the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church to regain its influence in Scotland'.¹⁶ The honorary president of the club was Lord Kinnaird and the forty-seven vice-presidents included the moderators of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, the United Free Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland, and the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland. By 1912 it had a total membership of 3,116, in Edinburgh (1,771), Glasgow (1,125), Aberdeen (100) and Belfast (120). The annual report for that year claimed an attendance of 40,000 at its meetings, which were held in all the major cities and other large centres of population. The report does not say how many meetings were held in the year and the attendance

figures cannot be confirmed but reports in the *Edinburgh Evening News* suggest that they were considerable. The issue of 26 May 1911 reports an attendance of 300 at a meeting in the Royal Arch Hall in Edinburgh. On 25 November there is a record of a John Knox anniversary service in the United Free Church Assembly Hall attended by 'a large audience of ladies and gentlemen' at which the theme was 'the Roman Catholic Church at present was doing its best to reconquer Britain' and must be resisted.¹⁷ For a demonstration in connection with the 'Ne Temere' decree held in the Assembly Hall, the 10 February 1912 issue notes that 'every available seat was occupied'. The meeting resolved 'to urge the people of Scotland to continue their demand for legislation to nullify (the decree's) operation'.¹⁸ Current seating capacity of the hall is about 1,200 which, due to alterations, is probably less than it was in 1912.¹⁹ The club issued many publications, including historical pamphlets, one of which, by Dr Hay Fleming, was entitled *Illustrations of Anti-Christ Rejoicing over the Massacre of St Bartholemew*.²⁰ It was a belief of the club that, 'knowledge of the history of Scotland is an important factor in moulding public opinion'.²¹ The club seems to have ceased after the 1917 annual report. Anti-Roman Catholicism in Scotland was clearly highly respectable in the early years of the twentieth century, being led by eminent Protestant churchmen. It was an acceptable stance, perhaps even assumed to be the norm by many people, creating a climate of opinion that made it possible for later 'anti-popery' political parties to find support. As Callum Brown says strains of 'anti-papist theology and political philosophy....were resilient both in the presbyterian churches and in the civil state in Scotland until well into the twentieth century'.²² In the early decades of the century Presbyterian churches, as part of their opposition to the advance of the Roman Church,

were to the fore in the campaign for a curb on immigration from Ireland. This campaign and the public perception of the case for action are considered later in this chapter.

Apprehension at the effect of the 'Irish Invasion' had carried over from the nineteenth century and there were frequent reports of Scottish fears of being ousted from their own land by Irish RCs. The *Glasgow Herald* of 11 January 1907 quoted statistics of RCs in Scotland of whom there were 514,000, an increase of 1,000 over the end of 1905. The same paper on 6 March 1907, under a heading 'INVASION OF MONKS AND NUNS', reported a well-attended Edinburgh meeting called to protest at the influx of RCs following the disbandment of religious orders in France. The chairman, the Rev. George Robson, former moderator of the Free Church, moved a resolution deploring the rapid increase of monastic and conventual institutions in the UK, saying that the evils associated with such institutions had been exposed by the French government. A French spokesman said '...it was understood by every French statesman...that the time had come to stop all those black and menacing invasions'. He warned that the country's religion, liberty and prosperity were threatened by actions 'for the glory not of true religion, but of the Pope of Rome'. Another French speaker said his government had tried to deliver their country 'from the long-standing yoke of Popery'.²³ Reporting the same meeting the *Scotsman* of 6 March 1907 stressed the desirability of a government enquiry on the growth of monastic and conventual institutions in the UK. The *Glasgow Herald* of 8 March 1907 reported a meeting on the same theme held in St John's Wesleyan Methodist church under the auspices of the Scottish Protestant Alliance and noted 'the church was well filled'. The meeting called for the regulation of these institutions and

supported a move 'to have Roman Catholic convents, especially where trades were carried on, brought under the Factories Acts'.²⁴ Protestant concern was heightened by a pontifical decree reported in the *Glasgow Herald* on 8 July 1908 that the United Kingdom was no longer a missionary land and henceforth would be looked upon by the Roman Church as a Catholic country. The cumulative effect of the successive reliefs and emancipation of RCs and the central declarations of the Church made both priests and RC laymen in Scotland feel increasingly secure. They were seen by many in the non-RC majority of Scots not as a minority constantly on the defensive, but in reality in the 1920s and 1930s as confident and assertive. Their Church had been re-established, its God-given destiny to reconvert the Scots to Roman Catholicism declared and the political power, directed by the priesthood, of concentrations of RC population had been realised. Each of these manifestations of RC resurgence was, in itself, a cause of unease among non-RCs in Scotland as the newspaper reports indicate. Cumulatively they help to account for the continuing anxieties of the Presbyterian Churches and many others over the 'Irish Invasion' during the early decades of the twentieth century.

The RC Church in Edinburgh

The presence of the RC Church was increasingly obvious over the whole of Scotland but it was particularly noticeable in the archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh, which, despite having only about 13% of the total number of RCs by the 1930s had 21.6% of priests in Scotland.²⁵ This did not go unnoticed. *Protestant 'Action'* on 23 July 1938 posed the question – 'Why is it that so many Irish priests have been drafted into Edinburgh?'.²⁶ In the first twenty-eight years of the century nineteen new churches and

seventeen missions were opened in the archdiocese and ten religious communities introduced.²⁷ The rate of introduction was stepped up in the following decade. Between 1930 and 1936 seven new churches and seven new missions were opened and nine new religious communities introduced.²⁸ It is difficult to find direct comparisons but in the ten year period 1929-1939 the Church of Scotland, providing for a much larger membership, built only six new churches to cope with population movement in the area covered by the archdiocese, four in Edinburgh, one in Newtongrange and one in Dundee.²⁹ The accelerated activity followed the appointment of Andrew Joseph McDonald as Archbishop in 1929. In a thumbnail sketch of 'the Archbishop who relished a fight', Andrew Monaghan records McDonald's reputation as 'a ruthless but significant influence on major developments in Roman Catholicism in this century' and says he 'shook up the administration (of the archdiocese) after 10 years of neglect'.³⁰ Certainly his action in 1938 to evict five extern nuns from the convent of the Poor Clares Colletines in Liberton was considered ruthless. The nuns had defied a court order to leave the convent and the Archbishop's instruction to return to lay life. During the hearing of the nuns' appeal against eviction at the Sheriff Court the Archbishop and his agents were accused of cutting off water, gas and electricity and removing the gate and bell in order to force the nuns out.³¹ In the end the nuns were allowed to remain in the convent. The Archbishop was the inspiration of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, which helped to unseat Willie Gallacher the communist MP for West Fife in 1950.³² He inaugurated annual pilgrimages to Dunfermline in 1930 and in succeeding years in *ad clerums* (letters to the clergy) urged support for these occasions which might be termed demonstrations of the strength of the Church in Scotland.³³ There are press

reports of increasing numbers attending the gatherings he led there, 12,000 in 1934 and 15,000 in 1936.³⁴ The pilgrimages were regarded by the PAS as challenges. *Protestant Action* of 22 July 1939 said, 'Roman Catholics do not attend these pilgrimages in a feeling of Godliness, but with a feeling of Arrogance and Defiance to the Protestants of Scotland'. In February 1935 a meeting of the Catholic Truth Society on the subject of birth control was transferred at the Archbishop's insistence from the Diocesan Hall to the Usher Hall to ensure 'such an attendance of Catholic women, whether members of sodalities or not, as will give the function that weight without which it cannot fulfil its function'. He asked that arrangements should be made 'in order that all Catholic women not unavoidably prevented may be present'.³⁵ Clearly he wanted the meeting to be a demonstration of strength. To many people in Edinburgh it appeared that McDonald raised the profile of the RC Church in the city during the nineteen thirties as a deliberate challenge, the most significant event being the Eucharistic Congress, a celebration of the RC form of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, held in Edinburgh in 1935. (The Archbishop's part in the events of the mid-1930s and his response to the PAS demonstrations are dealt with in chapter 6, pp. 242-250.) The main strength of the RC Church in Scotland lay in the Glasgow archdiocese yet no such congress had ever been held there, perhaps for fear of stirring up controversy. Although Edinburgh had only a small minority of RCs in the population, the RC Church adopted a high profile in the city during the Thirties, part of what some saw as its aggressiveness. The large number of priests, new church building, additional religious communities coupled with manifestations of the faith made on a bigger scale than hitherto made some people fearful. For Cormack and the PAS an acknowledged local adversary and occasions for

demonstrations were desirable. The Archbishop provided both. I had hoped to find in the Scottish Catholic Archives some record of discussion and decisions on the events mentioned above, particularly the Eucharistic Congress and the pilgrimages, to which the PAS so strenuously objected, but was disappointed. The archives had no record of any discussion preliminary to or after these events

The RC Campaign for the Right to Public Display

The presence of the RC Church was emphasised in other ways. The *Glasgow Herald* of 9 September 1908 had a leader commenting on the RC International Eucharistic Congress in Westminster Cathedral, which it considered part of the RC crusade for the reconversion of England. Taking place immediately after the Church of England Pan-Anglican Congress of June 1908 and probably meant to be compared with it, the RC congress was planned as a demonstration of the pomp and magnificence of the Roman Church involving a procession through the streets of London by priests in their robes. At that time there was still statutory prohibition of the celebration of RC rites or the wearing of RC vestments except in the usual places of worship and there were complaints. The Protestant Alliance wrote to the Chief Commissioner of Police in London saying that the proposed procession carrying the 'consecrated wafer through the streets of London' would necessitate accompanying ecclesiastics wearing vestments which was against the law.³⁶ At a meeting in Caxton Hall, Westminster, the Alliance ratified a 'Solemn League and Covenant....to defend the Protestant religion' and agreed to ask that the procession be banned.³⁷ An editorial in the *Glasgow Herald* of 12 September 1908, while in favour of permitting the procession, said that its proselytising

function 'must defeat itself by advertising "Papal Aggression" and thus closing the ranks of the waverers'.³⁸ After correspondence between the Archbishop of Westminster and the Prime Minister the former agreed to conform to the law and priests did not wear vestments or carry religious symbols in the procession.³⁹ However, this was only one of many challenges to this law by the Church of Rome. The *Glasgow Herald* of 24 April 1909 has a report of complaints to the Prime Minister of RCs in Manchester, Reading and other places having paraded the Host publicly through the streets in defiance of the law. Concern was raised by the introduction to the House of Commons of a private member's Bill in that year for Roman Catholic Disabilities Removal, which would have legitimated such displays. The Bill was passed at its first reading on 19 February 1909 by 133 votes to 123.⁴⁰ A petition signed by 300,000 people claiming that the Bill posed a great danger to the civil and religious liberties of the people was presented to Parliament on 14 May 1909 but it was passed at its second reading that day and remitted to a committee of the whole house to be heard on 17 May 1909.⁴¹ On 21 June 1909 the Prime Minister, Mr Asquith, refused to give any special facilities for the passage of the Bill.⁴² The measure did not make it to the Statute book.

This issue of the right of RCs to have such public processions was revived in Scotland in the 1920s. Unemployed miners had built a grotto in honour of the Virgin Mary in the vicinity of the RC church at Carfin, near Motherwell in central Scotland. Until 1921 the annual 'Corpus Christi' celebration had been held there within the church grounds. In 1921 and 1922 small processions passed along the public road between the grotto and the church without incident but in 1923, when the grotto became more widely known,

there was a much larger procession involving some 30,000 people which caused serious disruption to traffic. In 1924 the local police informed the priest at Carfin, Father Taylor, that a procession along the public road would be illegal but he decided to go ahead with it. The Chief Constable met the priest along with the RC Dean and again objected to the proposed parade on the grounds of obstruction to traffic and the desirability of avoiding sectarian strife in the county. The Chief Constable understood that Father Taylor had agreed to abandon the idea of a procession on the public thoroughfare and was surprised when he learned that the priest had obtained a permit for the parade from Lanarkshire County Council. A superintendent of police informed Father Taylor that if the parade went ahead a report would be made to the Crown Authorities and, in the event, the celebration was confined to the church and grotto grounds. The banning of the procession created a furore. There followed a concerted campaign of letters to the Secretary of State for Scotland (S of S) from various RC organisations, including the Irish Democratic League, Townhead Branch and branches of the CYMS.⁴³ RC Members asked questions in Parliament on 8 and 15 July 1924 and the matter was debated in a motion for adjournment on 4 August 1924 when only the member for Motherwell, Hugh Ferguson, spoke out against the demand for repeal of the legislation banning such processions. In the 8 July discussion it was claimed that similar processions had been held on many occasions and that they were allowed by Local Authorities all over Britain.⁴⁴ The Government was clearly sympathetic to the call for repeal of the legislation, the provisions of which appeared to have been widely ignored for some time. After the failure of a similar Bill in 1925, a Bill for Removal of Roman Catholic Disabilities was tabled on 10 March 1926. Written representations against the

Bill were sent to the S of S by seven individuals and by the following organisations.

Edinburgh Presbytery of the Free Church

The Church of Scotland

Orange Lodges

The Orange and Protestant Party

Provincial Grand Black Chapter of Scotland

The Scottish Reformation Society

The United Original Secession Presbytery of Scotland⁴⁵

The measure became law on 15 December 1926. For those who had opposed the Bill this was another step in the progress of the Roman Church towards ascendancy, allowing propaganda by way of ostentatious display. They claimed that there was no such tolerance for other religions in Italy. In an article about the Eucharistic Congress held in Edinburgh in 1935 the editor of the *Osservatore Romano* explained that this was because, 'in countries with a 2000 year history of Catholic genius, culture, art and life, the defence of the Faith equals, goes side by side with, the actual defence of their tongue, their leader, their ethnic character, with the virtue and glory of the country itself.'⁴⁶ This is an argument very close to that of the opponents of the 1926 Relief Bill in reference to Presbyterianism and Scotland. Although it was now legal for RCs to hold such processions in public it remained a controversial matter as is evidenced by Cormack's success in bringing so many people onto the street to demonstrate against the Eucharistic Congress in Edinburgh in 1935, which is considered in chapter 6.

Political Influence of the Church of Rome

The growing political influence of the Roman Catholic Church in Britain was remarked upon in contexts other than the success of the Labour Party in areas with considerable RC populations. Dr Marie Stopes, the birth control pioneer, fought an unceasing battle with RC activists. In her book, *Roman Catholic Methods of Birth Control*, she sets out a catalogue of RC actions to prevent anyone from advertising and providing instruction on birth control and claims that the small minority of RCs in Britain, by use of publicity and well organised pressure groups, more or less determined the central and local government policies on birth control. In an introduction to the book the Rev. Percy Dearmer, Canon of Westminster, wrote,

Slowly and reluctantly I have been forced to the conclusion that the Roman Catholic Church is not so much a religious community as a great political machine, endeavouring to control our newspapers and other sources of information and to acquire a dominating position, through a small but highly organised minority vote over the affairs of Great Britain. Many good Romanist laymen do not yet understand how they are being used, trained as they are in habits of submission and excluded from the free access to literature through the censorship imposed by their authorities. On the other hand the good-natured English public is slow to believe that plots can be organised against our liberties. Therefore it is of great importance that some of the facts mentioned

in this book should be widely known.... It is not possible any longer to doubt that an attempt is being made, through immigration from Southern Ireland, gradually to drive the English out of England and the Scots out of Scotland.⁴⁷

Dr Stopes in the course of her narrative claims that Mr T.P. O'Connor, a RC who was Chief Censor of Films in 1923, so acted as to unduly delay issue of a certificate for a short film based on a play she had written. After the certificate was issued a circular on Home Office headed paper was sent to Chief Constables in England with the purpose of having the film blocked from local showing and was successful in so doing in several areas. When enquiries were made at the Home Office it was claimed that no one knew of the transmission of these letters. Dr Stopes drew the conclusion that they had been issued solely by or with the authority of Mr O'Connor.⁴⁸ The long established papal policy of urging appointment of RCs to places in civil administration would seem to be justified if RCs in positions of influence acted in this way. Birth control as advocated by Dr Stopes, which was a controversial matter in Britain at this time, was contrary to the teaching of the Roman Church and such action could be considered as a contribution to the extirpation of heresies. It is important to recognise this view by its adversaries of the political influence of the Roman Church extending beyond the formal electoral arena. Linked to the centuries-old idea of RCs as deceitful, ultimately treacherous, owing loyalty to a foreign potentate, it was for some a potent argument against toleration of Roman Catholicism. It was an argument frequently deployed by the PAS in the 1930s complaining of what it saw as the dangers of RCs in positions of influence, particularly

in the administration and the press.

Demands for Control of Immigration

The reason for the unwelcome revival of the RC Church in Scotland was the arrival in the country of large numbers of RCs rather than any accession of new adherents. Since the resurgence was regarded as wholly due to the immigration of Irish RCs it was on this question that attention was concentrated. There had been intermittent demands for control of immigration earlier in the century but there was intensified pressure on the Secretary of State for Scotland to take action during the 1920s. In 1923 the Church of Scotland published a report to its General Assembly on Irish Immigration and the Education (Scotland) Act 1918 calling on the Government to appoint a Commission to enquire into the whole question of immigration from Ireland, 'with a view to the preservation and protection of Scottish nationality and civilisation' and to make substantial amendments to the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918.⁴⁹ Later a specially printed version of the report entitled 'The Menace of the Irish Race to Our Scottish Nationality' was presented to the Scottish Secretary. It had on the title page a quotation 'after Robert Burns', which proved to be only too apt -

Be Scotland still to Scotland true

Amang oursels united

For never but by Scotland's hands

Maun Scottish wrongs be righted.

The committee presenting the report made it clear that the problem concerned the

immigration of a large Irish RC population. Protestant Irishmen were not a problem.

RCs of Scottish origin were not a problem. It was only the Irish RCs.

They cannot be assimilated and absorbed into the Scottish race.

They remain a people by themselves, segregated by their race
their customs, their traditions, and, above all by their loyalty
to their Church, and gradually and inevitably dividing Scotland,
racially, socially and ecclesiastically.⁵⁰

As regards Scottish RCs, the report points out that only two counties in Scotland had a purely Scottish RC population of any size, Inverness and Dumfriesshire. RC children on the school rolls in Invernessshire were 1,800 out of 12,800 and in Dumfriesshire, 534 out of 12,711. The native RC population of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire was so small as to be negligible.⁵¹ Consequently, it could be seen that the revival of the RC Church in Scotland was due wholly to the influx of Irish RCs. The report went on to note what it saw as alarming demographic trends. In the period 1881 - 1901 the total population of Scotland had increased by 18½%. The Irish and Irish-descended population of Scotland increased by 32½% during the same period. Between 1901 and 1921 the total Scottish population increased by 6% while the Irish and Irish-descended increased by 39%.⁵² The Church of Scotland's concern at what it saw as the deleterious effect of the Irish presence seems to have been shared by the Scottish administration. A memorandum dated 24 June 1927 prepared by the Scottish Office for a conference on immigration noted that judicial statistics seemed to confirm the Church of Scotland view. It contained a table showing that of the 1,672 prisoners in confinement at 31 December

1924, 382 (22.8%) were Irish-born and 537 (32.1%) were RC.⁵³ There was a welcome and strong support for the report in the Scottish press. An editorial in the *Scotsman* on 30th May 1923 approved the request for a commission of enquiry and went on to say 'most of the imported Irish labour is unskilled...the type of Irishman who is coming over is not the best, and thus not only is the alien element preponderating...it is in many cases not of a desirable character'. The religious nature of the concern is acknowledged by the editor in a statement that there was no danger of the RC Church converting 'the good, sterling Scottish men and women of the reformed faith'. The danger lay in the increasing numbers of Irish immigrants swamping native Scots in their homeland.⁵⁴ The *Edinburgh Evening News* of 29 May 1923 reported the General Assembly debate with headings 'A Menace to Scotland', 'Well Founded Fear' and 'The Race Imperilled'. It seems that in 1923 Irish RCs were commonly regarded as alien and presenting religious and social dangers. On 6 June 1923 the paper printed a long letter from Mr T. McGittigan, writing from the Priest's House, Musselburgh, in which he denied that the Irish were too ready to seek poor relief and pointed out that second generation Irish/Scots were included in the figures for emigration from Scotland while the number of immigrants from Ireland was falling. Within the Scottish Office there was concern. On 7th July 1925 Major Walter Elliot, a junior minister at that time but later to become Secretary of State for Scotland, wrote in a file on Irish immigration:

I have had this matter under consideration for some time....We are at present supporting in Scotland some 10,000 paupers of Irish birth. In view of the very greatly overcrowded state of the

Scottish labour market and the number who annually emigrate from Scotland only to be replaced by Irish I suggest that the position cannot be allowed to remain. I see no objection to framing a general statute limiting immigration from the dominions in the same way as they limit immigration from us. This in practice comes down to a reasonable prospect of employment...If England is not willing to do this Scotland should consider proceeding independently.⁵⁵

As it turned out, the English attitude determined the government decision on the question of control of immigration. In December 1925 the Church of Scotland's Church and Nation Committee, on a remit from the General Assembly, the United Free Church and the Free Church of Scotland, after consultation with other churches made a submission to the Scottish Secretary with a copy of the report referred to above, urging a government enquiry into the matter. The committee requested a meeting to discuss regulation of immigration, saying,

the process of unregulated migration out of and into Scotland in the past has brought about a situation where there is danger of the control of the affairs of their own country passing out of the hands of the Scottish people, and even to the endangering of the continued existence of Scottish nationality and civilisation...a law-abiding, thrifty and industrious race is being supplanted by immigrants whose presence tends to lower the social conditions,

and to undermine the spirit of independence which has so long been a characteristic of the Scottish people.⁵⁶

Letters to the press and to the Scottish Office protesting at the number of Irish persons on relief were common. A letter dated 20 February 1927 addressed to Major Elliot enclosed a petition based on resolutions passed at meetings in Edinburgh, Paisley and Airdrie asking for regulation of immigration from outside the United Kingdom into Scotland, particularly from the Irish Free State (IFS). It was signed by 132 persons with addresses in the Forth estuary area.⁵⁷ The petition and the covering letter give a clear idea of a popular conception of the problems created by Irish immigrants and they are set out in Appendix 4. The *Glasgow Herald* of 20 May 1927 had an editorial concluding that the evidence 'seems to emphasise the need for a scientific enquiry into the two related questions of emigration from and immigration into Scotland'.⁵⁸

Only after protracted correspondence and informal meetings between the Scottish church representatives and Scottish Office ministers and officials was a formal high level meeting arranged. Eventually on 28th June 1927 an inter-departmental conference was held at the Scottish Office, Whitehall. It was attended by representatives of the Dominions Office, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Labour, and the Home Office as well as the Scottish Office contingent, which was heavily outnumbered. The conference had been convened for the purpose of considering the questions of reciprocal arrangements between Great Britain and the IFS for the repatriation of persons who became chargeable to the Poor Law, and of possible regulation of immigration from the IFS into Britain.

Problems discussed were the burdens placed on Poor Law Authorities, the effect of Irish immigration on a depressed labour market and the undue proportion of persons of Irish birth or extraction in Scottish prisons. The critical consideration was that these problems did not exist to the same extent in England. It was decided to take no action to limit immigration from the Free State. There was no solution to the repatriation problem as the Free State was not willing to enter into any arrangement for forcible return of paupers.⁵⁹ The Cabinet discussed migration policy at a meeting on 23rd July 1928. It approved the recommendations of another sub-committee on migration concerned wholly with migration to the Dominions.⁶⁰

In the closing years of the 1920s there were insistent demands for something to be done about Irish immigration. The *Glasgow Herald* of 31 January 1927 carried a report of a sermon by Dr Mackintosh Mackay of Sherbrooke Church, Glasgow with the heading 'The Danger of the Irish Inflow'. It quoted him as referring to 'the danger which confronted this country by the steady increase of the Irish population'. A leader in that paper on 20 May commented favourably on a report by the Church and Nation Committee of the Church of Scotland about the need to address the issue of Irish immigration which the leader writer termed 'a problem which has been exercising the minds of all thoughtful Scots for many years'. The *Daily Record and Mail* of 17th May 1927 had a banner headline, 'Scotland in Peril: Alarming Increase in Irish Immigrants'. On 28th May a *Glasgow Herald* editorial on immigration and emigration claimed that there was an influx of low grade Irish labour and an efflux of 'all the best types from the land and the factory'. The same paper reported two meetings at which control of

immigration was called for, one by the Orange and Protestant Party on 15 October 1927 and the other by the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow on 2 December 1927. Both meetings were addressed by the Rev. Duncan Cameron, a noted anti-RC polemicist. At the latter meeting he is reported as saying that, 'the proportion of Scots to Irish in Scotland every year was altering rapidly to our disadvantage and we are left in little doubt as to what was the ultimate object of the Irish Roman Catholic people and their leaders in Scotland'.⁶¹ Towards the end of the year two articles published on the same day expressed what seem to have been commonly held concerns. On 29th December the *Times* included a report of widespread fear that with so many Irish immigrants and Scots emigrants, control of the country was passing out of Scots hands. In 1921 RCs were one in eight of the population whereas a century before they were one in thirty. In 1927 the Irish population in Scotland was 640,000 against 601,304 in 1921. The native Scots population had fallen by about 30,000 in the same period, during which some 300,000 persons had emigrated from Scotland. The *Glasgow Evening Standard* of 29th December contained a piece on the same lines. 'While Scots are increasingly leaving the Highlands and rural parts for the Dominions and America, the Irish in even greater numbers are crowding into the Glasgow slums. Hardly, I would say, an advantageous exchange'. The agitation continued through 1928, notably with a report in the *Glasgow Herald* on 20 July of a delegation from Scottish Presbyterian Churches to the Home Secretary and the Secretary of State for Scotland to discuss immigration from Ireland. This sparked correspondence from readers. In the period to 2 August 1928 eight letters were published, all but one in favour of control of immigration. One of these, from A.M. MacMillan, asserted, 'while we have over 130,000....unemployed there

is no reason why the influx of Irish should not be restricted'.⁶²

The matter was raised in Parliament on several occasions. On 23rd February 1928

Viscount Sandon asked the Secretary of State for Scotland:

Whether his attention had been called to the large increase in the Irish Roman Catholic population of Scotland and the decrease in population of native Scotsmen, and whether, in view of the arithmetical implications of this continued progress, he will appoint a commission to examine the question.

The Secretary of State replied:

I have received representations to the effect mentioned in the first part of this question...Information extracted from census returns shows that the percentage of the general population in Scotland of Scottish birth has remained constant at 91% from 1861 till 1921, while the proportion of Irish birth has fallen in the same period from 6.7% to 3.3%. The latter figures, however, do not include children born of Irish parents...I am not satisfied that the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the matter would be justified.⁶³

From the internal minutes on the Scottish Office file it is clear that this was meant to be an obfuscatory reply. Officials knew exactly what was behind the question and chose to

put it to one side. A Board of Health minute notes, 'The question is not one of Irish birth but of Irish religion. Should the State intervene in such a question? Would not relations with the Irish Free State be endangered by the appointment of a Commission? In any event could anything practical be done?'.⁶⁴ The *Dundee Courier and Advertiser* of 24th February 1928, reporting on the parliamentary exchange, criticised the S of S reply saying it was thoroughly unsatisfactory as there was a real problem, 'the racial proportions of the Scottish population are constantly changing to the serious disadvantage of the native element'. The paper disposes of the question of why seek an enquiry about Irish and not English immigrants by saying that the second generation of English immigrants were indistinguishable from their Scottish neighbours, whereas the Irish formed distinct racial colonies which never mixed and merged with the native population. Supporting the setting up of a Commission the article concluded, 'but for the fact that the Irish vote is already dominant in Scottish politics, by holding the balancing power between the parties in the populous midland constituencies, the enquiry would be instituted'.⁶⁵ The call for a curb on immigration was aimed at Irish RCs. It was a continuation of the anti-Roman Catholicism that had been and remained an important element of what many regarded as being Scottish.

The Scottish Office made a subsequent attempt to initiate action on this problem. On 15 November 1933 a memorandum by the Secretary of State was sent to the Ministry of Health on the subject of immigration from the IFS and other dominions. It commenced:

During recent years numerous representations have been addressed to

the Scottish Office on the subject of the number of immigrants into Scotland from the Irish Free State and the problems created by the existence there of large and steadily increasing numbers of persons who have been born in Ireland or are of Irish descent. The representations have maintained that the Irish population does not assimilate with the Scots, that it is less independent than the native population and gives rise to a disproportionately heavy burden on the poor rates and on public funds generally, that it is responsible for an undue proportion of crime, and that its low standard of living enables it to accept employment at low wages, thereby undercutting Scotsmen, who are being driven to emigrate from Scotland.⁶⁶

The memorandum set out proposed courses of action, including restriction on immigration, repatriation of immigrants who became a charge on public finances, and a requirement that employers who wished to employ immigrants should show that suitable labour could not be found in Scotland. It goes on to note a strong tendency, in the absence of any considerable Scottish RC population, towards intermarriage of Irish RC immigrants and of their descendants, creating 'Irish colonies' in the midst of Protestant communities, which caused frequent and sometimes serious outbreaks of sectarian disorder and 'impose a heavy strain upon the police forces of certain districts and lead to abnormal expenditure for the purpose of preserving law and order'. The memorandum also spoke of the 'prolific multiplication' of the Irish-born population and their descendants. Although the Scottish Office wrote of immigrants from the IFS, it is

clear from the reference to intermarriage of Irish RCs and the creation of Irish colonies that the concern was with Irish RCs. In conclusion the memorandum recommended legislation barring entry to Britain of people from the Dominions, including the IFS, who had criminal records or were insane, providing for the deportation of immigrants who became a charge on public funds and allowing entry only to those who had a work permit from the Ministry of Labour.⁶⁷ The Scottish Office initiative had no hope of success. A memorandum by the Home Secretary dated 8 March 1932 had already decided that legislation to effect controls such as those mooted was not practicable. The ultimate sanction, deportation to the IFS was impossible because the IFS refused to accept the deportees. In any case, as long as the IFS remained a part of the Empire its citizens remained British. The Home Office memorandum concluded, 'A constitutional principle of the highest importance is thus involved. The readiness of the Mother Country to receive all British subjects is an extremely valuable bond of empire and any change of policy would be likely to have far-reaching and perhaps unforeseen consequences'.⁶⁸ The Scottish Office initiative came to nothing. In truth it was too late for curbs on immigration to have the effect that the petitioners wanted. Scottish society had been changed fundamentally by the 'Irish Invasion'. In the 1930s all of the problems associated with Irish RC immigrants as perceived by many in the majority Protestant community remained unresolved. A Great Britain solution had been ruled out and the Scottish Office had no power to take an independent initiative. The adverse effect of Irish immigration to Scotland was a constant theme of the PAS, for whom a solution to many of the country's problems was the repatriation of these immigrants.

The Orange Order

A notable absentee from the ranks of those campaigning for a curb on Irish immigration was the Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland, the Orange Order. Traditionally the Order had supported the Conservative Party, particularly in its Unionist manifestation as Elaine W. McFarland has shown.⁶⁹ Events after the 1914-1918 war served to strain this alliance. A government dominated by Conservatives had brought in both the Education Act of 1918, which was seen by many in Scotland as conferring great benefits on the RC Church, and the Government of Ireland Act of 1922, giving home rule to the Southern Irish. Both of these measures had been opposed by the Order and their passing caused a breach with the Conservatives. In January 1922 the Committee of the Grand Lodge, the ruling body of the Order in Scotland, decided to withdraw its two representatives on the Western Divisional Council of the Scottish Unionist Association as it could not 'agree with the present policy of the Coalition Government or of the Unionist leaders'.⁷⁰ This effectively ended the Order's formal connection to the Conservatives although Orangemen continued to play a part in Unionist politics as Graham Walker and David Officer have shown.⁷¹ Reporting the action of the Committee, the *Glasgow Herald* noted that the step was taken 'in protest against the treatment of Ulster by the Government in connection with the Irish Peace Treaty'. Orangemen had supported the Unionist Party on the question of Home Rule for Ireland. Now that that question had been removed from the field of Irish politics, 'they feel that they are free to revert to their former independence'.⁷² The same newspaper reported on 22 February, 1922 that a representative meeting of the Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland had been held in Glasgow at which it had been decided 'that the time had now arrived when the Orange

Order should make an independent stand in all spheres of political work in upholding their Orange and Protestant principles'. The meeting resolved to form a separate party to be known as the Orange and Protestant Party (OPP). President of the party was James Rice, at that time the Grand Secretary of the Order in Scotland.⁷³ At its meeting on 10th June, 1922 the Grand Lodge approved the action of the committee 'in withdrawing from the Unionist Party owing to their betrayal of Ulster'. It also approved the formation of the OPP, making a grant of £100 'to assist with initial expenses'.⁷⁴ Reporting on the new party's first meeting in October, 1922 the *Glasgow Herald* said, 'At a large and enthusiastic meeting in St Andrew's Hall, Glasgow last night under the auspices of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland there was inaugurated an Orange and Protestant Party to give political expression to the principles of the Orange Order'. The Grand Master of the Order, Rev. David Ness, who chaired the meeting, said that the day had come when they 'must make a distinct and independent stand for Orangemen throughout Scotland'.⁷⁵ The OPP was short-lived and made little impact on the national political scene. Its main success was its involvement in the 1923 General Election. Hugh Ferguson, a local notable, who had contested the Motherwell and Wishaw constituency as an Independent Conservative in 1918 and 1922, coming a close second to the winning Communist candidate, J.T.W. Newbold, in the latter year, stood again as an Independent Conservative in 1923 when he was sponsored by the OPP, 'who regard Mr Ferguson as their leader', and by the Unionists.⁷⁶ Late in the election campaign he was recognised as the official Unionist candidate.⁷⁷ In the *Glasgow Herald* reports of the election campaign Ferguson is always designated Independent Conservative although his links with the OPP are recognised.⁷⁸ His agent, Ephraim Connor, secretary of the OPP,

described him as 'the Baldwin Candidate' and said 'the Orange and Protestant and Unionist parties have come close together in support of Mr Ferguson'. He cited several leading Unionists as having signed Ferguson's nomination.⁷⁹ He also claimed that the Orange vote in the constituency was 4,000.⁸⁰ The *Glasgow Herald* suggested that 3,000 would be nearer the mark, with a Roman Catholic vote of between 6,000 and 7,000.⁸¹ Ferguson won the election with a majority of 1,081 in a three-cornered contest with a Communist and a Liberal. He lost the seat in a straight fight with the Labour Party at the 1924 election when his opponent had a majority of 1,040.⁸²

A new Grand Master of the Order was elected in 1925. He was Lt Col. A. D. McInnes Shaw, Unionist MP for West Renfrewshire. While he urged his fellow Orangemen to vote Conservative, he was determined that the Order should be non-political. The *Glasgow Herald*, reporting on an Orange march at Cambuslang on 9 July 1927, attended by 30,000, said that Shaw told the rally:

While they devoted themselves to seeing that the British Constitution was in no way imperilled, they did not wish to enter into political controversies. He appealed very strongly to those who would associate the Order with politics not to do so. By making the movement political they would rob the order of a good deal of its strength.⁸³

There is no record in the Grand Lodge minutes of a resolution adopting a non-political stance but it is clear that the Order followed the lead of the Grand Master during the rest

of the 1920s and 1930s. He told the Grand Lodge Ladies Conference in 1932 that 'he did not believe in making their Great Order a Political Order. Their primary duty was to defend the faith, not to enter into political controversy'.⁸⁴ Consistent with the Grand Master's policy the Order nationally did not take part in the campaign for a curb on Irish immigration. There is no mention of the topic in the Grand Lodge Minutes for the 1930s and the Grand Lodge does not figure in newspaper reports on the subject. As noted above the OPP took part but it ceased to make any great political impact after 1925, involvement in politics having lost the support of the leader of the Order. Shaw's policy also illustrates why there could be no rapprochement between the Order nationally and Protestant political parties like the PAS, as we shall see later. Graham Walker, in his review of the Orange Order in Scotland, suggests another reason for the adoption of this policy. He says that in the early 1930s the Order's national leaders played down 'the political aspects to their cause...for fear of alienating the unemployed and impoverished in their ranks'.⁸⁵ In any case, it seems that the direct political influence of the leaders of the Order on rank and file members was limited. Walker considered that the Order's appeal to the working class was to a large extent based on issues such as education and mixed marriages, 'issues which did not break down neatly into party political terms'.⁸⁶ His research into election results in what were deemed strongly Orange areas found mixed voting trends, some, such as Govan and Bridgeton, returning Labour members in the 1930s when the Order's leaders were Unionist.⁸⁷ Nevertheless the attitude of the leaders of the Order to direct political involvement in these years is significant in relation to consideration of the campaign on Irish immigration. Whether or not to take an active part in politics continued to be an issue for the Grand Lodge. In

June 1939 a committee appointed to consider this question reported, 'Our historic mission is to resist all attempts by the Papal party to obtain ascendancy and imperil our freedom and laws. We cannot depend on any political party. All parties have failed us in the past....we must take part in politics'. It recommended the setting up of a 'Political Committee of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland' on which the most senior officers of the Grand Lodge would serve. The recommendation was accepted.⁸⁸ This is, in a way, confirmation of the avoidance by the Grand Lodge of overt political commitment in the preceding period.

'Ne Temere' Decree

There were other causes linked to that of Irish immigration and taken together they could form an agenda for action. The original 'Ne Temere' decree was promulgated at Trent in 1563 but effectively suspended in its application to various countries. The new decree promulgated in 1908 was brought into operation almost all over the world. Fresh emphasis on this aspect of RC dogma appears to have been a response to a loss of adherents due to mixed marriages. Bernard Aspinwall says that his examination of baptismal and marriage registers, 'Ne Temere (1908) notwithstanding, shows surprising numbers of mixed marriages from the late nineteenth century to the present'.⁸⁹ He does not provide figures for Scotland but instances St John's RC church in Stevenston where the records for 1915-1930 show that 'mixed marriages there averaged 36 per cent'.⁹⁰ On 22 January 1909 the *Glasgow Herald* reported an address by the RC Bishop of Down on the subject of mixed marriages. He stressed that any marriage of a RC and a person not of the faith before any person other than the parish priest was invalid or no marriage.

The *Glasgow Herald* of 25 January 1909 in a report headlined 'Bishop's Remarkable Statement' quotes a pastoral letter by the Bishop of Galloway denouncing the marriage of a RC with a Protestant as a crime and an abomination, and an act of foul concubinage. During the same period there were other reports of similar utterances by RC priests in Scotland. The subject was debated at length in the House of Commons on 7 February 1911 and in the House of Lords on 28 February 1911 but the government decided to take no action.⁹¹ Until the 1920s, although there had been continuing complaints of RC priests' actions in regard to mixed marriages, it does not appear to have been seen as such a high profile, objectionable part of the policy of the RC Church in Scotland. Perhaps as Aspinwall suggests there had been an increasing loss of adherents through mixed marriages during the early years of the century. At any rate the matter became fiercely controversial during the 1920s and 1930s. It was the subject of innumerable meetings, newspaper reports, and letters to the press and to the Scottish Secretary. The Scottish Office was sufficiently moved by the agitation to open a file on the subject of 'Popish Practices - Ne Temere Decree (Mixed Marriages)'.⁹² A leading campaigner, the Rev. Frederick Watson, Church of Scotland minister at Bellshill, encapsulated the reasons for unease in a letter dated 18 October 1933 to the Secretary of State. He described the decree as a 'studied insult to the law of Scotland by suggesting that RC canon law overrode Scottish civil law' and complained of 'the interference and intimidation of Roman priests in the matter of mixed marriages'. The letter also refers to a case of bigamy where the accused excused his bigamous marriage by saying that he was an RC and did not regard his first marriage by a Protestant minister as valid. Mr Watson asked the Secretary of State to consider legislation making it an offence for

anyone to allege that persons lawfully married were not truly and sufficiently married. As support for this he quoted a judge, Lord Mackay, as having condemned the RC behaviour in the Court of Session.⁹³ In many towns meetings were held at which resolutions were passed in favour of such legislation. After a meeting held in the Assembly Hall in Edinburgh on 7th November 1933 the Edinburgh Protestant Society wrote to the Secretary of State to demand 'that the Government at once introduce legislation to insure that the Priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church will be prevented from actively interfering with marriages between Protestants and Roman Catholics'.⁹⁴ There was full coverage of these meetings in the press and a steady stream of letters was published. Popular support was attested by large attendance at the meetings. A report in the *Glasgow Herald* of 8th November 1933 gave the number attending the Assembly Hall meeting as 'more than 2000 people'. There were repercussions. The *Dundee Courier and Advertiser* of 1 November, 1933 reported that the windows of the Rev. Mr Watson's church had been smashed and the minister had received an anonymous letter which read, 'I write a few lines to express my sorrow that your church was damaged. All I will say is that it will be your turn next and it will be with a five chambered revolver'.⁹⁵ Several MPs wrote to the Secretary of State about mixed marriages. His reply to all his correspondents was that there was no action he could usefully take. Nevertheless he did investigate reports that there was relevant Dominions legislation that might serve as a model for action. He obtained a copy of the New Zealand government's Marriage Amendment Act, 1920 No. 65, which made it an offence to allege that anyone lawfully married was not so or that any offspring of the marriage was illegitimate. Having seen it he did not alter his opinion. On 22nd December 1933 the Lord Advocate wrote to the

Prime Minister's Office acknowledging that there was considerable agitation in Scotland on the subject of the 'Ne Temere' decree but asserting that there were no grounds for legislating on the subject.⁹⁶ The political background to the agitation is brought out in a letter from the Rev. Mr Watson, published in the *Glasgow Herald* of 21st June 1934, accusing the Scottish National Party of 'truckling' to the Irish RCs in order to get their 'priest organised votes', as did the Labour Party. The 'Ne Temere' issue was seen by some Protestants as a deliberate challenge to the law in Britain. Failure of the Administration to confront the issue seemed to them to stem from an unwillingness by the political parties to jeopardise the RC vote and left a feeling of frustration, providing fertile ground for agitation. The issue continued to cause a stir throughout the 1930s when it was a plank in the PAS anti-RC programme.

The Education (Scotland) Act 1918

Another issue taken up by the PAS was that of opposition to aspects of the Education (Scotland) Act 1918 which brought RC schools into the state education system. The Church of Scotland report 'The Menace of the Irish Race' referred to above had also raised this third cause of disquiet among Scots in this period. The merging of church schools into the national system was popular in England where the majority were Church of England, as were the vast majority of the church-going public. Other church schools were a minor consideration. In Scotland the situation was different. RCs, although a minority, formed a much more significant part of the population. The Church of Scotland report made the point that when, under the provisions of the Education Act of 1872, Church of Scotland and Free Church of Scotland schools had

been transferred to the newly-established school boards, no money was paid to either church for the transfer of buildings and furnishings, nor was any rent offered. They all went free of charge to the state. The report noted that, the 1918 Act having made provision for compensation to be paid to the RC church in Scotland for its school buildings, £25,000 a year was paid for the lease of the schools and £47,000 was paid for furniture and fittings. Salaries were due to all teachers. For RC teachers the bill was £283,023 annually and, since much of the teaching in RC schools at the time was done by members of teaching orders of the church, this meant that large sums of money were paid to the RC Church making it, in proportion to its numbers, the best funded church in Scotland.⁹⁷ This came to be stigmatised as 'Rome on the Rates', which Callum Brown has noted 'became a rallying call for Protestant agitators'.⁹⁸ The argument was that since most RCs in Scotland were in the lower reaches of society with well below average incomes they paid little or nothing into the tax or rates system and inevitably were subsidised by the non-RC population. There were other criticisms of the measure. The Church and Nation Committee of the Church of Scotland in its report to the General Assembly in 1926 opined that segregated education was 'subversive to the best interests and educational traditions of Scotland...To segregate the children into separate schools according to race or creed is to develop an atmosphere charged with grave possibilities of danger to the nation'.⁹⁹ James Scotland has described education as 'the passing on of a social and cultural heritage'.¹⁰⁰ Children attending RC schools would be subject to quite different social conditioning to that of Scotland's modern social and cultural heritage. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s the Act was the subject of submissions to Government, newspaper articles and popular agitation in Scotland but no impression

was made. The English dominated government in London did not accept this view of the effect of the legislation in Scotland and the political situation in Scotland had been transformed by the 'Irish' vote in the west of the country.

The Labour Party and the RC Vote

Part of the perception of Irish RCs in Scotland as alien was the way that Irish Home Rule dominated their thinking on politics. Scotland's home affairs came a long way behind. One RC priest boasted that 'during twenty one years in Scotland he had never looked at any newspaper other than *The Cork Examiner*'.¹⁰¹ However, the Home Rule issue ceased to be a political consideration after 1922 when the Irish Free State was set up. The Liberals, who had favoured Irish Home Rule and had had much of the RC vote in Scotland, were largely abandoned in favour of the Labour Party. Labour fully supported the 1918 Education Act and Michael Lynch says that there is a strong argument for the party having got the RC vote in return for supporting RC sectional interests, particularly the maintenance of separate RC schools.¹⁰² Ian S. Wood points out that 'in 23 Scottish seats after the 1918 Act Catholics constituted 20 per cent or more of the total electorate' and that 'this proved to be a factor bearing substantially upon Scottish Labour MPs' support for the special status of Catholic schools'.¹⁰³ Labour's success in the 1922 parliamentary elections in Scotland seems to have been very largely due to the accession of RC voters. Segregated education remained an issue, particularly in local politics in Scotland, throughout the 1930s. For some people the parts of the 1918 Act providing for separate state-funded schooling for RCs remained unacceptable. Certainly in the 1930s, as we shall see, it occasioned fierce political controversy led by

the PAS and other local Protestant political parties.

Challenge to History

While the Presbyterian Churches were making unavailing appeals to the government it seemed to many Scots that the Church of Rome was almost day by day becoming more assertive, to some even triumphalist. The 1920s saw more evidence of this increasing assertiveness, leading to an intensification of Protestant fears. The *Glasgow Herald* of 21 December 1921 carried a report of a speech made by Professor Phillimore of Glasgow University at the prize giving in St Aloysius RC College in Glasgow. He said that RCs would not be on the right lines to convert Scotland until they had captured the universities, which were 'undefended citadels'. They had only to go to the universities in sufficient numbers and the thing would be done. Professor Phillimore's speech rang alarm bells. The *Glasgow Herald* of 22 December 1921 carried a report of a meeting of the Church of Scotland Glasgow Presbytery at which the Rev. Duncan Cameron urged steps to counter the RC move. On 27 December 1921 the *Glasgow Herald* reported an address by the Reverend Arthur C. Hill which included claims of the Church of Rome's 'evil influence and intolerance' and labelled it the enemy of enlightenment, of educated freedom, of manly independent character. He concluded, however, that to all efforts 'to make these islands a spiritual fief of Roman power we shall offer a strenuous resistance'.¹⁰⁴ The Phillimore speech sparked a series of letters in the *Glasgow Herald*. A letter from a parish minister published on 28 December 1921 pointed out that the apparent growth of Romanism in Scotland, and particularly in Glasgow, was due entirely to Irish and foreign immigration. Apart from that he claimed that the RC

Church was losing ground. 'Lapsing on a big scale goes on continuously'. In conclusion he wrote, 'We value our Christian liberty too much to submit again to the soul-crushing bondage of Rome'.¹⁰⁵ In the following year a report in the *Glasgow Herald* on 31 January gave the gist of a lecture by W.E. Brown, a lecturer at Glasgow University, on the RC view of the Reformation. He said that the reformers were individuals who forced their opinions on the people but, even so, did not achieve much success until reformation was taken up by secular rulers and imposed by force. A leader in the same issue of the paper commenting on the lecture said that it was more worrying than Professor Phillimore's address and indicated that there was already within the teaching staff of the university 'the solid nucleus of a proselytising force'. The leader writer went on to say that he could not imagine a Romanist university employing Protestant teachers but if one were employed his tenure would not be prolonged if he publicly assailed RC principles. Protestants were more tolerant but when a lecturer on British history 'proclaims that the facts must be interpreted in the language and spirit of the Roman Church he is obviously a misfit in a modern institution'.¹⁰⁶ Such proselytising was a feature of the times. On 3 February 1922 another editorial referred to 'puerile attempts' to rewrite the history of the Reformation by Hilaire Belloc and the Glasgow lecturer Mr Brown. Belloc was a vigorous promoter of Roman Catholicism. In a series of potted biographies he had elaborated the idea of the Reformation as a movement of the rich against the poor.¹⁰⁷ He wrote a number of pamphlets for the Catholic Truth Society as well as some revisionist histories. In a lecture to the Institute of Catholic Studies in Glasgow, reported by the *Glasgow Herald* of 30 October 1923, he claimed that the main or accepted historical work of nearly two centuries had been anti-Catholic but the

process was ending. In 1934 the Pope honoured Belloc and another English writer, G.K. Chesterton, for their services to the RC Church in their writing, which had been described as 'courageous and virile propaganda',¹⁰⁸ awarding them the Star of the Order of St Gregory the Great. A contemporary controversialist, Mr G.G. Coulton, wrote of Belloc, 'He prostitutes very great natural gifts to the dissemination of plausible error'.¹⁰⁹ Response to the *Glasgow Herald* editorials was a stream of letters from readers. J. Duffy, a regular correspondent writing from Shamrock Street, Glasgow, whose letter was published on 2 February 1922, complained about the leader and said that there was currently better evidence of events at the time of the Reformation. A letter in support published on 6 February 1922 ends with a clarion call 'Romanism, which demands every concession and grants none, and which uses each concession to realise its ideal of supreme political control, must in the interests of liberty and progress be sternly watched'.¹¹⁰ Another letter on 9 February claimed that in the parliamentary debates on the Irish University Bills in the House, Irish Home Rule members argued that the teaching of history to RC students by Protestant professors would be an iniquity and could not be permitted. The argument, it seemed, did not apply in reverse.

The controversy stirred up by the Phillimore and Brown statements revived the debate on the 1918 Education Act. Church of Scotland and United Free Presbyterian Church presbyteries in Glasgow sounded the alarm at what they saw as an alliance of the Labour Party and the RC Church to capture control of the education authority. The *Glasgow Herald* of 15 February 1922 carried a report of a meeting of the Glasgow Presbytery of the United Free Presbyterian Church at which, clearly referring to the Education

Authority elections, their congregations were urged 'to use every means in their power to secure that Protestants should be adequately represented on public bodies'.¹¹¹ In the 15 March issue of the same newspaper the Glasgow presbytery is reported to have agreed an overture to the church's General Assembly to the effect that the 1918 Act put large sums of money into the hands of the RC Church, providing funds for propaganda against Protestantism. It urged modification or repeal of clauses in the Act which, it claimed, conferred special privileges on the RC community. On 23 February 1922 the *Glasgow Herald* reported on a meeting of the Glasgow Presbytery of the Church of Scotland at which concern was expressed about 'an unholy alliance between the Roman Catholic Church and the Labour Party to capture a majority of seats on the (Education) Authority'. The Presbytery appealed to church members to defeat this move.¹¹² At a meeting of the Presbytery in March there was a complaint of RC aggression, claiming that 'the Education Act of 1918 has provided the Roman Catholic Church with vast funds which may be used for the advancement of that church in Scotland and for the subversion of the principles of our reformed faith...'.¹¹³ A meeting in Erskine Church, reported in the *Glasgow Herald* of 8 March 1922, heard a warning that the Labour Party and RCs would capture the Education authority if Protestants did not wake up. RCs were becoming more aggressive in regard to public matters generally. They were out to capture the universities but as a preliminary were set to capture the machinery of the education authority. The audience were reminded that the 'Roman Church did not get its orders from Glasgow but from Rome'.¹¹⁴ This claim of foreign direction of RC social and political action had been a commonplace over the centuries. John Hope, the Edinburgh anti-RC activist, in a letter dated January 1855 had written,

the preservation of our civil and religious liberties requires the exclusion of Roman Catholics from Parliament, power and place; that for the due enjoyment of my civil and religious liberty it is needful that those who take part in ruling me be themselves civilly and religiously free, and not the slaves of another; and that as Roman Catholics are not themselves free agents, but compellable to obey their priests, bishops and Pope, so, for my enjoyment of my civil and religious liberty, it is needful that these Roman Catholics have no share in making laws for me.¹¹⁵

The fear of a RC take-over of Scotland's educational system was added to the perception of the funding of RC schools being a direct subsidy to the Roman Church, as another cause of concern in these years. With this was associated the conviction that the activities of the Roman Church in Scotland were directed from Rome bringing the threat of alien rule of Scottish society. These same complaints of flaws in the Education Act of 1918 and of the direction of RC political action from Rome were, as we shall see, key points in PAS appeals for support during the 1930s.

Religious Toleration

The rejection of the idea of sectarian schooling was associated with the thinking behind the ideal of religious freedom that had become part of the rhetoric of anti-Roman Catholicism in the nineteenth century and was a common ground for dispute by

controversialists. R.A. Knox, a prolific RC propagandist, wrote in 1927 that 'a body of Catholic patriots, entrusted with the Government of a Catholic State, will not shrink even from repressive measures in order to perpetuate the secure domination of Catholic principles among their fellow countrymen'. To rebut the inevitable accusation of double standards in a part of British society constantly demanding freedom for its beliefs and practices he went on to say 'when we demand liberty in the modern State, we are appealing to its own principles, not ours'.¹¹⁶ Thus in a democracy where RCs are not in power there should be freedom of belief and practice but where RCs are in power it was legitimate to use 'repressive measures' to perpetuate Roman Catholicism. This was for many a chilling warning of what might be. The issue of toleration was a theme taken up by the PAS journal *Protestant 'Action'*, arguing that tolerance had to be reciprocal.

This and the preceding chapter have tried to establish the extent and depth of feeling among Presbyterians in Scotland about the problems created by Irish RCs in the country. Despite being a minority they were perceived by many people as a constant threat; aggressive, subversive, malignant, bent on imposing their alien social and religious practices on the native Scots. Measures to relieve RCs of disabilities or even, as the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 was perceived by some, to provide undue advantage to the Roman Church, seemed to be going too far in placating a fractious minority. This perception and the depressed state of the economy with widespread unemployment in the 1920s and early 1930s, which is examined in the next chapter, created the conditions for emergence of a leader to energise the opposition to what some described as the 'menace to the Scottish nation'. None of the national political parties seemed likely to

take action. Local action, although often vehemently urged, had had little effect. 1930s Edinburgh, douce and respectable, an unlikely candidate for the honour, was to be the scene of one of the most fiercely fought Anti-Popery campaigns since the Reformation.

Notes to Chapter 4

- 1 Irene Maver, 'The Catholic Community', in *Scotland in the Twentieth Century*, ed. T.M. Devine and R.J. Finlay (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 269-284 (p. 272).
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 271.
- 3 See note 68 in chapter 3.
- 4 Anne Fremantle, *The Papal Encyclicals in their Historical Context* (New York, 1960), p. 152.
- 5 John Cooney, *Scotland and the Papacy: Pope John Paul II's Visit in Perspective* (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 41.
- 6 Fremantle, pp. 166-195.
- 7 Jean-Guy Vaillancourt traces the development of Catholic Action in *Papal Power: A Study of the Vatican Control over Lay Catholic Elites* (London, 1980), Cliff Williamson discusses this aspect of Roman Catholicism in Scotland in, 'An Antidote to Communism: Catholic Social Action in Glasgow 1931-1939', in *Out of the Ghetto? The Catholic Community in Modern Scotland*, edited by Raymond Boyle and Peter Lynch (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 11-41.
- 8 *Scotsman*, 30 July 1898.
- 9 *Scotsman*, 30 July 1898.
- 10 *Bulwark*, September, 1898, p. 102.
- 11 *Bulwark*, March 1899, p. 34.
- 12 F. H. O'Donnell, *The Ruin of Education in Ireland and the Irish Fanar*, 3rd edn (London, 1903), on an unnumbered page preceding the title page.
- 13 A. McPherson, ed., *History of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland 1893-1970* (Inverness, 1975), p. 160.

- 14 S. Woywood, *The New Canon Law*, 7th edn (London, 1940), p. 37.
- 15 *House of Commons Hansard*, 26 June 1906, vol. 159, col. 799-802.
- 16 *Knox Club Publications*. Held in Edinburgh Central Library.
- 17 *Edinburgh Evening News*, 25 November 1911.
- 18 *Edinburgh Evening News*, 10 February 1912.
- 19 This information was obtained from the Church of Scotland administration office.
- 20 David Hay Fleming, *Illustrations of the Antichrist's Rejoicing over the Massacre of St Bartholemew*, No. 29 of *The Knox Club Publications* (Edinburgh, 1912).
- 21 Enclosure to vol. 1 of *Knox Club Publications*.
- 22 Callum G. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730*, p. 235.
- 23 *Glasgow Herald*, 6 March 1907.
- 24 *Glasgow Herald*, 8 March 1907.
- 25 Peter F. Anson, *The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland 1560-1937* (London, 1937), pp 219-221.
- 26 *Protestant 'Action'*, 23 July 1938.
- 27 Anson, *The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland*, p. 162.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 164.
- 29 *Church of Scotland Reports to the General Assembly 1954*, p. 241.
- 30 Andrew Monaghan, 'Andrew Joseph McDonald, The Archbishop who relished a Fight' in *God's People. One hundred and ten characters in the story of Scottish Religion* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 250-251, (p. 250).
- 31 *Scotsman*, 9 May 1938.
- 32 Anthony Ross, 'The Development of the Scottish Catholic Community 1878 – 1978', in *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878 – 1978*, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow, 1979), pp. 30-55 (p 53).
- 33 Scottish Catholic Archives, DE 32/2, letter dated 8 October 1930, DE 32/3, letter

dated 25 June 1931, DE 32/5, letter dated 22 May 1933.

34 *Glasgow Herald*, 11 June 1934 and 22 June 1936.

35 Scottish Catholic Archives, DE 32/7, letter dated 18 January 1935.

36 *Times*, 13 August 1908.

37 *Times*, 14 September 1908.

38 *Glasgow Herald*, 12 September 1908.

39 *Glasgow Herald*, 14 September 1908.

40 *House of Commons Hansard*, 19 February 1909, vol. 1, col. 334.

41 *House of Commons Hansard*, 14 May 1909, vol. 4, cols 2155-2232.

42 *House of Commons Hansard*, 21 June 1909, vol. 6, col. 1364.

43 Report by the Chief Constable of Lanarkshire on NAS, HH1/774, SO file 32374/1.

44 *House of Commons Hansard*, 8 July 1924, vol. 175, cols 1935-1937, 15 July 1924, vol. 176, cols 185-186, 4 August 1924, vol. 176, cols 1967-70.

45 NAS, HH 1/775, SO file 32374/11.

46 NAS, HH1/777, SO file 5415/131.

47 Dr Marie Stopes, *Roman Catholic Methods of Birth Control* (London, 1933), pp. xi and x.

48 *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.

49 *Church of Scotland Reports to the General Assembly 1923*, pp. 749 – 763.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 750.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 750-1.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 753.

53 NAS, HH 1/554, SO file 32693/19.

54 *Scotsman*, 30 May 1923.

- 55 NAS, HH 1/544, SO file 32693/8.
- 56 NAS, HH 1/541, SO file 32693/4.
- 57 NAS, HH 1/544, SO file 32693/8.
- 58 *Glasgow Herald*, 20 May 1927.
- 59 NAS, HH 1/553, SO file 32693/18.
- 60 NAS, HH 1/544, SO file 32693/8.
- 61 *Glasgow Herald*, 2 December 1927.
- 62 *Glasgow Herald*, 23 July 1928.
- 63 *House of Commons Hansard*, 23 February 1928, vol. 213, col. 1825.
- 64 NAS, HH 1/548, SO file 32693/12.
- 65 *Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, 24th February 1928.
- 66 NAS HH1/568, SO file 32693/35.
- 67 NAS, HH 1/568, file 32693/35.
- 68 Cabinet Paper LPA 32(S), 8 March 1932, in NAS, HH 1/568, SO file 32693/35.
- 69 Elaine W. McFarland, 'Outposts of the Loyalists of Ireland: The Orangemen's Unionist Vision', *Unionist Scotland 1800-1997*, ed. Catriona M.M. Macdonald (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 27-51
- 70 *Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge Committee*, 7th January, 1922, item 21.
- 71 Graham Walker & David Officer, 'Scottish Unionism and the Ulster Question', in *Unionist Scotland 1800-1997*, pp. 13-26 (pp.21-22).
- 72 *Glasgow Herald*, 12 January, 1922.
- 73 *Glasgow Herald*, 22 February, 1922.
- 74 *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge*, 10th June, 1922, items 9A & 9B.

- 75 *Glasgow Herald*, 12 October, 1922.
- 76 *Glasgow Herald*, 23 November, 1923.
- 77 *Glasgow Herald*, 4 December, 1923.
- 78 Marshall in *The Billy Boys*, p. 121, gives the OPP as Ferguson's party for the 1923 election.
- 79 *Glasgow Herald*, 26 November, 1923.
- 80 *Glasgow Herald*, 27 November, 1923.
- 81 *Glasgow Herald*, 30 November, 1923.
- 82 *British Parliamentary Election Results, 1918-1949*, p. 634.
- 83 *Glasgow Herald*, 11 July, 1927.
- 84 *Report of Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland at the Half-Yearly Meetings held in the Orange Hall, Glasgow* 10th December, 1932 and 9th June, 1933, p. 9.
- 85 Graham Walker, 'The Orange Order in Scotland Between the Wars', *International Review of Social History*, 37 (1992), 177-206 (pp. 190-191).
- 86 *Ibid.*, p. 177.
- 87 *Ibid.*, p. 188.
- 88 *Minutes of Meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge*, 10th June, 1939, p. 156, Item 7.
- 89 Bernard Aspinwall, 'Baptisms, Marriages and Lithuanians; or, "Ghetto? What Ghetto": Some reflections on modern Catholic historical assumptions', *The Innes Review* 51 (2000), 55-67 (p.56).
- 90 *Ibid.*, p. 64.
- 91 *House of Commons Hansard*, 7 February 1911, cols 145-194. *House of Lords Hansard*, 28 February 1911, cols 165-211.
- 92 NAS, HH 1/776, SO file 5415/129.
- 93 NAS, HH 1/776, SO file 5415/129.

- 94 NAS, HH 1/776, SO file 4515/129.
- 95 *Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, 1 November 1933
- 96 NAS, HH 1/776, SO file 4515/129A.
- 97 *Church of Scotland Reports to the General Assembly 1923* (Edinburgh, 1923), p. 759.
- 98 C. G. Brown, 'Religion and Secularisation', in *People and Society in Scotland*, vol. 3 1914-1990 (Edinburgh, 1992), ed. by A. Dickson and J.H. Treble, pp. 48-79 (p. 71).
- 99 *Church of Scotland Reports to the General Assembly 1926*, pp. 592-3.
- 100 James Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education*, 2 vols (London, 1969), I, p. 3.
- 101 Anthony Ross, 'The Development of the Scottish Catholic Community', in *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878-1978*, ed. by David McRoberts (Glasgow, 1979), pp. 30-55 (p. 41).
- 102 Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1992), p. 430.
- 103 Ian S. Wood, 'Hope Deferred: Labour in Scotland in the 1920s', in *FORWARD! Labour Politics in Scotland 1888-1988*, eds Ian Donnachie, Christopher Harvie and Ian S. Wood (Edinburgh, 1989), pp. 30-48 (p. 33).
- 104 *Glasgow Herald*, 27 December 1927.
- 105 *Glasgow Herald*, 28 December 1921.
- 106 *Glasgow Herald*, 31 January 1922.
- 107 Hilaire Belloc, *Characters of the Reformation* (London, 1936).
- 108 Denis Gwynn, *A Hundred Years of Catholic Emancipation 1829-1929*, (London, 1929), p. 270.
- 109 G.G. Coulton *Divorce, Mr Belloc and The Daily Telegraph* (Taunton, 1937), p. 40.
- 110 *Glasgow Herald*, 6 February 1922.
- 111 *Glasgow Herald*, 15 February 1922.
- 112 *Glasgow Herald*, 23 February 1922.
- 113 *Glasgow Herald*, 30 March 1922.

114 *Glasgow Herald*, 8 March 1922.

115 David Jamie, *John Hope, Philanthropist and Reformer* (Edinburgh, 1900) , p. 324.

116 R.A. Knox, *The Belief of Catholics* (London, 1927), p. 242.

Chapter 5

Edinburgh in the 1930s – Economic, Political and Social Conditions

History provides a context for the present; contemporary experiences of other peoples provide examples for action and incentives for change. In earlier chapters the social and religious history of native Scots and immigrant Irish RCs was seen to shape the character and group consciousness of the two communities, still sharply differentiated in the early decades of the twentieth century. Against this domestic background Edinburgh politics in the 1930s were greatly influenced by economic and political events elsewhere in Britain and in the context of Europe. In this chapter the wider contemporary setting and some explanation for the rise of the Protestant Action Society are considered.

Unemployment

As we have seen in the previous chapter RCs in Scotland, like other minority groups elsewhere in Europe, were blamed for the economic and social ills of the time. During the 1920s Protestant ministers and other leaders had blamed the immigrant RC Irish for growing unemployment and overcrowded and slum housing in Scotland. They and their families, although born in Scotland, were still strangers in the land. The *Glasgow Herald* of 7 February 1928 reported a speech by Lord Scone, presiding over a meeting organised by the Scottish Protestant League, in which he said,

It was not right that 750,000 aliens should batten on Scotland while 100,000 Scotsmen were out of work. Were the Irish in Scotland reduced by even one quarter of a million, the unemployment problem in this country would be so small as to

be negligible.¹

The 1920s and 1930s was a period of economic depression throughout Europe and Scotland shared this general malaise. Unemployment had been high throughout the 1920s; by 1931 there were 357,708 Scots out of work, 18.4% of the male work force and 11.3% of the female workforce.² It reached a peak of 29 % of the insured workforce in Scotland in 1932 as against 22% in Great Britain.³ Recovery in Scotland, based on exports and re-armament, progressed steadily thereafter and by 1936 the proportion out of work had fallen to 19.6%.⁴ The extent of unemployment varied greatly even between contiguous areas of the country. In Edinburgh and its environs there was no single industry employing a high proportion of the working population. Also it had above average numbers in administrative work. However Edinburgh's port, Leith, with its reliance on shipbuilding and repairing, suffered disproportionately. During the period 1923 to 1935 employment in this sector fell by 58%.⁵ In these years unemployment in Leith was consistently about double the rate in Edinburgh. In 1931 Edinburgh had some 14.5% out of work, Leith had more than 27%. Nearly 24% of the insured population of Leith were still unemployed in 1935.⁶ On the eve of the outbreak of war in 1939 the rate for Scotland was 13.5% and wages continued to be low. A miner in full-time employment (five shifts) normally earned 41 shillings and 8 pence, of which 33 shillings and 4 pence went on food, fuel and rent. The maximum Unemployment Benefit for a man with a wife and three children was 32 shillings per week. When his entitlement ran out he could get transitional relief up to 29 shillings per week. For anyone who did not qualify for either of these benefits the maximum local relief was 26 shillings per week.⁷ John Boyd Orr, later to become the first director of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation,

estimated that in 1934 some 20% of the Scottish population lived at the minimum level of the dole, near or below the threshold of adequate nutrition.⁸

In the difficult economic conditions of the 1920s and 1930s in Scotland, although it was understood that the causes were international and widespread in Britain, it was perhaps natural for those adversely affected also to look for a more local cause on which their actions could have some immediate effect. Those who blamed the immigrant Irish had a ready audience, the more so because it could be linked to historic resentment of the incomers and to long-standing anti-Roman Catholicism. Cormack made full use of the argument that the very presence of the Irish immigrants was the cause of unemployment among native Scots.

Housing Conditions

Working-class housing in Scotland was generally poor. One in four houses were overcrowded and many were below standard. A 1931 report on 443 families living in the St Andrew's ward of Edinburgh described desperately poor conditions. In tenement property built in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century many flats had been sub-divided into one and two room dwellings. Originally they were four to six room units with a sink and a toilet and these facilities had to serve the multiple occupancy.⁹ A survey carried out by Edinburgh Corporation showed that 19.82% of houses with a rateable value not exceeding £45 in the city, of which there were 103,083, were overcrowded in 1935. An earlier survey had shown that 6,740 houses in the city were deemed unfit for habitation.¹⁰ Some 13,600 new houses were needed to end overcrowding and replace unfit houses.¹¹ The council completed 858 houses in 1935, 402 houses in 1936 and 618 in 1937. They expected to complete about

1,000 in 1938.¹² It was an inadequate response to the problem. A survey carried out for the Town Council in 1946 found that of the 123,265 dwellings in the city, 6,924 were unfit for habitation and a further 41,125 were substandard. The worst housing was found in the Old Town districts and in Leith. The High Street had 493 unfit and 789 substandard dwellings in a total of 1,420. In the Canongate there were 547 unfit, 647 substandard out of 1,301. The Grassmarket had 120 unfit and 356 substandard out of 569. In the inner suburbs Dalry had 49 unfit and 4,159 substandard out of 5,259 and Gorgie had no unfit dwellings but 2,114 substandard out of 4,680. Of Leith's 16,077 dwellings, 1,280 were unfit and 9,576 substandard. Most of the unfit and substandard houses had no bathroom and a high proportion had no independent water closet.¹³ At the time of writing there were still many Leith people who remembered these poor living conditions. Mrs Constance Jamieson, a member of Leith History Society, who gave me the following information, had lived all of her life in Leith (a note of the interview is in appendix 15). She was a leader during the 1940s of the Greenwood, the junior section of the Girls Guildry, a church organisation. One of her duties was to go to see Greenwood members when they were ill. This occasioned visits to dwellings in Couper Street, Admiralty Street, and East and West Cromwell Street, some of the worst slums in North Leith ward where slum clearance had ceased at the outbreak of war in 1939. Accommodation usually consisted of a room and kitchen. She recalls that the streets were 'teeming with children'. In the Tollbooth Wynd area such room and kitchen dwellings were most common. A tenement there might have four dwellings on a landing, each having one cold water tap. The four families shared one lavatory. In one instance there were thirty people in the four dwellings on a landing.¹⁴

Housing of the working classes in Scotland had been poor for many generations and it may be that aspirations in that regard had not been high enough in the past. By the 1930s official concern, perhaps reflecting greater public interest, was more focussed on the need for improvement and slum clearance schemes coupled with new housing developments, as noted above, raised expectations which were not readily met.

Discontent with housing conditions exacerbated the effect of economic depression and again it was not difficult to find someone to blame other than the town authorities: the immigrant Irish. Unsurprisingly, housing, like unemployment, was high on the PAS agenda in their propaganda and election campaigns

RCs and Politics

In some ways the situation in Scotland, and Edinburgh in particular, was peculiar and yet consonant with wider European experience in that a social minority was blamed for economic and social difficulties and a strong man offered to resolve the problems by attacking the minority group. British politics in the 1930s were dominated by the world depression that led to mounting unemployment, bringing the threat of Fascism. Extreme right wing parties were successful in similar circumstances in mainland Europe, notably the National Socialists (Nazis) in Germany, who targeted minority groups, mainly Jews and gypsies, as responsible for their nation's problems, and the Italian Fascists. At the other end of the political spectrum Communist parties, looking to Bolshevik Russia for inspiration, also were active in many European countries, blaming capitalism for social distress. These political movements had their counterparts in Britain. Oswald Mosley founded the British Union of Fascists in 1932 when there were nearly three million unemployed in Britain.¹⁵ Accurate

figures for membership of the party are not available but for 1934-5 estimates vary between 15,000 and 40,000.¹⁶ The main support for the movement was found in England, where it was financed in part by big business as a bulwark against Communism. In a national newspaper, the *Daily Mail*, whose proprietor, Lord Rothermere, was for a time a keen supporter, the party was given favourable publicity. The movement concentrated on areas in large urban centres with substantial Jewish communities and its largest, most active branches were in London, Manchester, and the industrial areas of Lancashire and Yorkshire. One analyst of British Fascism, Stuart Rawnsley, discussing the religious affiliations of BUF members, says that there is enough evidence to suggest that the percentage of Catholics was much higher than in the population as a whole. Leaders of the party in Hull, Blackburn, Bolton, North Leeds and in the Manchester area were Catholics and the Hull leader is quoted as saying, 'Catholics would see a relationship between the dogmatism of their religion and Oswald Mosley's idea of getting on with the job to govern'.¹⁷ In the Irish Free State General Eoin O'Duffy led the Fascist Blue Shirts in the period 1931-35. There were fascistic aspects of Sinn Fein, perhaps the best known political movement in Ireland. In the opinion of J. D. Young, the leading figures of the Scottish literary renaissance, with the exception of Edwin Muir, Lewis Grassie Gibbon and James Barke, were devout Fascists.¹⁸ Tony Milligan found 'a Scots intelligentsia with a long record of admiration for Mussolini'.¹⁹ However, the movement had little success with the mass of people in Scotland where there was not the degree of anti-Semitism to be found in parts of England. Also the RC connection was a handicap. Milligan notes that 'in Edinburgh the BUF were repeatedly faced with the charge of catholic influences'.²⁰ Further, it was not lost on the non-RC

majority of Scots that in the countries where Fascists ruled the RC church was a major power in the land. The Lateran Accord of 1929 between the Fascist government of Benito Mussolini and the Vatican formally recognised Roman Catholicism as the state religion of Italy. The Pope was paid two billion Lire (thirty million pounds), an enormous sum of money at that time, and the state agreed to pay the salaries of bishops and priests. It was stipulated that RC clergy would not become involved in politics in Italy.²¹ In 1933 German RC bishops endorsed Adolf Hitler's Nazi government and on 9 July of that year a Concordat was signed between Nazi Germany and the Holy See. 'In return for a guarantee of church rights and especially generous terms to secure church influence in education, the Papacy agreed to prohibit clergy and Catholic organisations from taking any part in politics'.²² To make way for the Concordat the RC political party in Germany, the Centre Party, had disbanded on 5 July 1933. In the late 1930s General Franco came to power in Spain after a civil war in which he had the assistance of the Vatican, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The Scottish hierarchy of the RC church gave clamant support to Franco and praised the Italians and Germans for their actions. Tom Gallagher claims that the RC journal *Glasgow Observer* 'became a channel for the propaganda of the Spanish right'.²³ Engelbert Dolfuss, a devout RC, became Chancellor of Austria in 1932. By 1933 he had created an authoritarian regime. Encouraged by Mussolini and the Pope, whom he visited at Easter 1933, Dolfuss claimed to be setting up a corporate state based on the Papal encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* of 1931, which set out the context of Catholic Action, its aims and objectives.²⁴ A Concordat was reached with the Vatican in 1934. 'Socialist workmen, whose religion had been Socialism, were put under clerical pressure to become Catholic in order to avoid, at

best unemployment, at worst, political punishment'.²⁵ In Portugal and Hungary, both having right wing/Fascist governments, there was active collaboration between state and the RC Church.

All of the above at the time seemed part of the resurgence of Roman Catholicism in Europe. The involvement of the RC hierarchy with these dictatorial regimes did not pass unnoticed in Britain. It gave substance to the idea of the Church as undemocratic, placing the interests of the people below that of the Church as an institution. Since for many British people the European dictators were seen as enemies of democratic Britain, support of RCs for rulers like Mussolini and Franco made RCs in Britain seem both undemocratic and unpatriotic.

By the 1920s, particularly in the west of Scotland, the Irish RC presence was having significant political effect. As noted earlier, in twenty-three Scottish parliamentary constituencies RCs were 20% or more of the electorate.²⁶ The British Labour Party, set up in 1906, which was slowly gaining ground, found support among newly enfranchised RCs after 1918 by supporting their sectional interests, particularly state maintenance of separate Catholic schools. In the 1922 parliamentary elections, the party made spectacular advances in all the Clydeside areas with working-class communities of Irish descent. RCs were establishing themselves as a potent political force under the guidance of their church hierarchy, who demanded absolute obedience, not only in religious beliefs but also in politics and social relations. In other European countries the RC Church had participated directly in electoral politics through RC parties such as the Catholic Popular Party (PPI) in Italy, the Centre Party

in Germany and Action Francaise in France. In Britain there was no such organisation. The *Scotsman* of 6 August 1923 has a report of the annual national congress of RCs in Birmingham in August 1923 at which a proposal that a RC political party should be created in Britain was rejected by Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster, who said that it would be a great misfortune as the church would be blamed for such a party's inevitable mistakes. The reality is that the RC minority in Britain was not large enough to create a viable political party. However, the Labour Party appears to have been accepted as the political vehicle most likely to further RC interests. The Catholic Union, part of Catholic Action, an organisation of laymen operating in each diocese under the direction of the Archbishop, was active throughout the Twenties and Thirties making the views of politicians on matters of importance to RCs known by publishing the answers to questionnaires in the RC press on the eve of local and national elections. The activities of RC clergy in the political field were noted and deplored. David Anderson, editor of the *Daily Record*, attempted to persuade religious leaders in Glasgow to reject the injection of sectarian feelings into politics. Archbishop Mackintosh refused because, in an accompanying article, a Glasgow priest was criticised for giving a political lead to his parishioners.²⁷ A letter from John McGovern, a Glasgow Labour MP, published in the *Glasgow Evening Times* of 30 December 1936 blamed the RC Church for making Glasgow 'the cockpit of sectarian warfare... at every election the clergy obscures the living issues and induces Catholics to vote not as a class but as a creed'.²⁸ The RC Church control of political activity among its adherents is illustrated by Archbishop Mackintosh's public rebuke of the *Glasgow Observer*, a RC newspaper, for making pre-election attacks on the

Labour Party without his authority. In the edition of 14 November 1936 the editor published an apology saying, 'we as Catholics, are bound by the general law of the Church, which enjoins previous submission of such proposed publications to be sent to the local Bishop'.²⁹

The apparent subjection of RC voters to the direction of the clergy was a matter of complaint and concern in some quarters in Scotland and made the Labour Party suspect to the same people. Realistically, however, it must be acknowledged that it is just an indication that religion and politics were intertwined, as they had been for centuries. In his political campaigns Cormack made much of the accusation that in politics RCs were priest-led and that the Labour Party was virtually a political subject of the Roman Church.

In Edinburgh conservative politicians were dominant, campaigning in parliamentary elections as Conservatives, Unionists or National Liberals, in local elections as Moderates or Progressives, acting out the myth of non-political local representation. The composition of the town council reflected that of parliament. After the failure of the minority Labour government in 1931, a National Government was elected with a massive majority, 554 seats to the opposition parties' 61, of which Labour had 52.³⁰ Conservatives with 473 seats controlled the new government, which renewed its mandate in the General Election of 1935 when, out of a total of 615, Conservatives won 432 seats to Labour's 154.³¹ Scotland in 1931 elected 57 Conservatives, 7 Liberals and 7 Labour MPs. At the 1935 election Labour made a recovery with 23 MPs to the Unionist (Conservative) 36, National Liberal 7, Liberals 3 and

Communist 1.³² Edinburgh City Council in 1935 consisted of 50 Progressive, 16 Labour, 2 Protestant Action Society (PAS) and one Independent Protestant councillor.³³ The PAS had been formed only two years before and was already making an impact on Edinburgh politics. Despite the preponderance of the Conservatives in Edinburgh the opposition parties, local and national, were active and there was considerable political friction in the city, which seems to have been particularly volatile in the 1930s. To appreciate the effect of Cormack's PAS in this political arena and to put the controversy surrounding the party's activities into perspective the actions of and reactions to other political movements have to be considered.

Fascists in Edinburgh

Given the strong anti-Fascist feeling amongst many individuals and groups in Scotland it is not surprising that when Oswald Mosley, founder and leader of the British Union of Fascists (BUF), visited Edinburgh in June 1934 he was given a rough reception. The *Scotsman* newspaper of 2 June 1934 reported that some 300-400 uniformed Blackshirts were bussed in to act as stewards at a meeting in the Usher Hall. A police report on this meeting, submitted to the Town Council when another application by the BUF for a let of the hall on 6th December 1935 was under consideration, gives what are perhaps more accurate figures. 2,800 people attended the meeting, including 387 members of the Fascist Union in 'Blackshirt' uniform. The Fascists were stated to have travelled in omnibuses from Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle, Sunderland, Durham, from Glasgow, Motherwell, Dumfries, Dalbeattie and other places in Scotland. Members of the Communist Party and the Scottish Democratic Self-government Organisation demonstrated outside the hall. One of the

party leaders addressed the crowd of between 5,000 and 6,000 from the balcony of a window in an adjacent building. When the Blackshirts left at the end of the meeting their buses were stoned by some of the crowd. All available men in the Edinburgh Police 'A' Division as well as the mounted contingent and twenty constables from other divisions were deployed to keep order in connection with the meeting. The report concluded that conditions should be imposed on any future let of the Usher Hall to the BUF including that 'the Fascists do not appear in the hall or on the streets in uniform' and that 'any catering be carried out in the hall to avoid Fascists becoming detached in search of refreshments'.³⁴ A later report by the same police division said that anti-Fascist feeling in the country had been accentuated by the Italian-Abyssinian dispute, 'and the invasion of the city by contingents of Blackshirts in uniform from different places is likely to lead to disorder'. Fascist street meetings in Edinburgh had led to disturbances and the police had had to protect Fascist speakers. The report concluded that the Usher Hall should not be let for a Fascist meeting. In a covering letter to these reports the Chief Constable recommended that the hall should not be let to the Fascists on 6th December 1935 and asked for his recommendation to be put before the magistrates for their consideration.³⁵ The minutes of meeting of the Treasurer's Committee of the Town Council on 28th October 1935 show that Councillor Will Y. Darling, a member of the Progressive Party, owner of a Princes Street shop and later Conservative MP for South Edinburgh, and Councillor Louis S. Gumley, another Progressive and a prominent house factor, had moved that the let to the Fascists be approved. Two opposition councillors moved an amendment that the let be refused. The amendment was accepted by six votes to five.³⁶

A return visit by Mosley to Edinburgh on 15th May 1936 roused further controversy and even more violence. The Treasurer's Committee of the Town Council at a meeting on 3rd April 1936 gave a personal hearing to Richard Plathen, a BUF agent, as well as hearing the concerns of the Chief Constable about the requested let of the Usher Hall. In a vote on an amendment moved by Councillor Darling, seconded by Councillor Kennedy, another Progressive, the committee rescinded its earlier refusal of a let. It did so despite objections by many people in the city. At a meeting of the Treasurer's Committee on 4th May 1936 letters from various organisations protesting at the let of the hall to the BUF were considered. It was resolved to take no action.³⁷ The Treasurer's Committee was obviously divided about the lets to the BUF but despite the protests ultimately decided in favour of freedom to express opinions. The committee was fair handed too in its treatment of the PAS and RC organisations, neither of whom was refused lets of council venues such as the Usher Hall, the Assembly Rooms and the Waverley Market despite objections to their activities.

Official versions of the BUF meetings in the Usher Hall and other political events in Edinburgh are contained in the Scottish Office files dealing with disturbances in Edinburgh which were released in the 1990s and what follows was gleaned from these files. This important material, not all of which was available to Tom Gallagher for his work on *Edinburgh Divided* (1987), provides an insight into the attitude of the authorities to the control of political activities in the 1930s. It indicates that PAS actions, in particular the demonstrations which, as we shall see were such noteworthy occasions especially in 1935, were not treated differently from other political events.

They also show the pressure the Scottish administration was put under by people and organisations seeking firmer control, even banning, of events planned by rival organisations. On 11th May 1936 a Protest Committee, set up as a response to the Town Council's decision to rescind its earlier refusal of a let of the Usher Hall to the BUF, addressed a memorandum to the Lord Provost and magistrates asserting that the Blackshirts were a semi-military organisation whose presence at public meetings invariably resulted in assault and brutality. The committee also reminded the police of the violence occasioned by previous BUF meetings but were assured that, if disorder arose, the police would at once go into the hall and take charge of the meeting. In the event the 1936 meeting caused even more disturbance than that of 1934. It was attended by some two thousand people, including members of the Scottish Fascist Union and representatives from Manchester and Liverpool, numbering about one hundred and fifty. At the start Mosley warned barrackers that they would be ejected from the hall, by force if necessary, and handed over to the police 'by arrangement'. There was fighting in the hall and several arrests were made. In the aftermath of this disturbance the Secretary of State for Scotland and the Home Secretary had a meeting with representatives of the Labour Party at which complaints were made about the importation of bands of Fascists from Middlesbrough and the North of England who were reported in the press to have acted with extreme brutality, yet there was no evidence of any charge being preferred against them although interrupters were charged. On 5th June 1936 the protest committee produced a report complaining that the Town Council and the police had ignored the legitimate concerns of the citizens. The police, of whom three hundred and forty nine officers of all ranks were deployed for the meeting, had made

elaborate arrangements, including the deployment of ambulances before the meeting had started, indicative of their expectation of the disorder and bloodshed of which the civic authorities had been warned. The police had been fully aware that assaults were being committed by Blackshirt stewards, but, although asked to do so, did not intervene by taking the promised action to prevent violence. There were press photographs showing police looking on at a man who had been carried from the meeting and dumped in the gutter. Representations made to the Chief Constable outside the hall had no effect.³⁸

Undoubtedly violent incidents occurred at both of the BUF meetings at the Usher Hall but the authorities local and national appear to have supported the idea of freedom of expression. The police endeavour on both occasions was to keep the opposing groups apart and, as far as possible, to prevent violent clashes involving large numbers of people in the streets, policies which they appear to have followed consistently and successfully in their handling of the major demonstrations mounted by the PAS, as we shall see.

Although Richard Plathen, who had been BUF National Inspection Officer, Scotland remained after the 1934 meeting as Scottish Organiser of the party and formed a branch in the city it was never a force in local politics. Two Fascist candidates got a total of 92 from more than 100,000 votes cast in the 1937 municipal election.³⁹

Probably the most successful of the branches set up in Scotland was in Aberdeen where a local laird, W.K.A.J. Chambers-Hunter and his sister-in-law, Mrs Botha, daughter-in-law of the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, were

recruited.⁴⁰ They organised many street meetings in Aberdeen and Chambers-Hunter addressed meetings in Edinburgh. The Public Order Act of 1936 gave anyone who was speaking in public with police permission some form of police protection. For instance, hecklers could be arrested for disturbing or threatening to disturb the peace. The BUF was usually successful in applying for such permission for its speakers and therefore police protection but, nevertheless, as the Edinburgh police surveillance reports record, Fascist meetings were disrupted and there were frequent newspaper accounts of violent clashes. The movement lost the support of many of its influential backers, including Lord Rothermere, because of its vehement anti-Semitism, and by the end of the 1930s it was a spent force. In 1940 the Home Secretary reported that some 9,000 persons had paid the last annual subscription to the BUF, of whom about 1,000 were active.⁴¹ There were other very small and short-lived Fascist parties in Scotland during the period. The Scottish Union of Fascists had headquarters in Edinburgh's Hanover Street. A Scottish Democratic Fascist Party was founded in 1933. Neither party made any great impression on the political scene.

Richard C. Thurlow, author of *Essays on the Radical Right in Inter-War Britain* (1980), has characterised the traditional Home Office attitude to political movements as being that there was no argument for outlawing extremist beliefs, provided the methods advocating their policies did not break the law. Action should be taken only if public order was threatened. However, the Home Office decided to place the BUF under the same surveillance as the Communist Party, so-called front organisations and other left-wing movements.⁴² The Scottish Office took the same line. As we shall see, the authorities in Edinburgh were consistent in their attitude to and

handling of large-scale meetings and demonstrations whether Fascist, PAS or other.

Other Political Activity in Edinburgh

Throughout the 1930s Edinburgh City Police monitored all public meetings in the city of the Communist Party, the Labour Party, the National Unemployed Workers Movement (NUWM), the local Trades Councils and other left-wing groups as well as the BUF and the Protestant Action Society. The Scottish Home Department received reports on such meetings and those of the activities of the PAS are recorded in a series of files, 'Edinburgh Disturbances'⁴³ and 'Roman Catholicism: Demonstrations in Edinburgh'.⁴⁴ It seems to have been a more than usually troubled decade. Most of the meetings, parades and demonstrations on which the police reported were in aid of the unemployed, including the reception of hunger marchers in 1934 and 1935. Generally, attendance on these occasions was in the hundreds but some attracted larger crowds, such as the NUWM meeting on 6th November 1932 when some 5,000 people gathered and the reception of the returning hunger marchers on 7th March 1934 attended by around 3,000. Other well attended demonstrations were the occasions of the BUF meetings in the Usher Hall and a meeting at the Mound addressed by Chambers-Hunter which drew a crowd of 10,000, most of whom seemed to the police reporter to be anti-Fascist.⁴⁵ During 1935 a feature of speeches by Communist Party members was a plea for Edinburgh people not to let religious divisions affect class solidarity. On May Day, Comrade McGuinness urged his audience not to allow religious matters to interfere with their political views as this played into the hands of the capitalist class. In August Comrade Saklatvala, from London, said that the people of the city were being sidetracked by the religious factions. In the same month Comrade Ben Murray, from Belfast, accused the

government of fomenting religious troubles in order to break the unity of working people.⁴⁶ The Communists were reacting to the new force in Edinburgh politics, the Protestant Action Society.

From the official reports it is clear that the policy of the authorities and the police in regard to all of these organisations and their public meetings was consistently to give freedom of expression but to keep them under control.

Local Anti-RC Political Activity

The 1920s had seen the emergence of a new kind of sectarian politics in Scotland, involving not church organisations but lay political parties. Where once anti-RC action had been instigated and fostered by leading Protestant clergymen and their lay supporters in the upper reaches of society the lead was now being taken by laymen of more humble origins. The traditional, popular antipathy to Roman Catholicism, the opposition to popery and fear of encroachments on liberty by an alien church, compounded by the economic hardships of recession and harsh living conditions in sub-standard housing, created the conditions in which new-style Protestant political parties campaigning on what was essentially a single issue, summed up in the old slogan 'No Popery', could find support among the disaffected by blaming these adverse circumstances on an identifiable minority already regarded as alien. These parties were rivals for leadership in anti-Irish RC action. Perhaps it was this rivalry which inhibited co-operation between the two groups. The Church of Scotland and other Presbyterian churches while continuing their own anti-Irish RC activities, did not endorse these political campaigns although some individual clergymen supported them. Members of the Orange Order supported the efforts by some Conservative

MPs to have Irish immigration curtailed but they too were wary of the new local anti-RC parties. John Cormack was for a time a member of the Orange Order. Some support, for purely political tactical purposes, was forthcoming from right wing local parties in Edinburgh and Glasgow by way of informal electoral pacts not to oppose each other in particular wards in municipal elections. Alexander Ratcliffe founded the Scottish Protestant League (SPL) in Leith in the 1920s but his electoral successes were in Glasgow between 1931 and 1933 when his party had five seats on a council dominated by the Labour Party. In 1934 the SPL fell away. Ratcliffe himself was defeated in Dennistoun, where he had made a pact with the Conservative group, the Moderates, in an attempt to oust Labour.⁴⁷

As the SPL was failing in Glasgow, Cormack's Protestant Action Society was coming to prominence in Edinburgh, where only some 7% of the population of 439,010 in 1931 were RC.⁴⁸ During this decade senior members of the Scottish administration were still concerned with the issue of Irish immigration. On 28 December 1936 the Lord Advocate wrote to the Scottish Office requesting information on 'the Irish Roman Catholic population of Scotland, the extent to which it has increased in recent years and the volume of immigration which still continues'. He was informed that there were no statistics relating specifically to Roman Catholics but information on Irish-born residents in Scotland was provided in a confidential memorandum by the Registrar General for Scotland and a memorandum by the Department of Health. The Registrar General's memorandum showed that at the 1931 census of population, among the large burghs, Edinburgh, after Glasgow, had the highest proportion of Irish-born with residence of less than 5 years. There

were 840 of whom 545 were from Southern Ireland.⁴⁹ This was 14.4% of the total of Irish-born in Edinburgh. In Glasgow the same category represented only 7.2% of the total Irish-born in the city. For Edinburgh this indicated an increased rate of arrival over previous periods and it may be that note was taken of these more recent arrivals at a time when jobs were scarce. The Department of Health memorandum included a table showing the number of natives of Ireland (including dependants) in receipt of poor relief in Scotland at 15 May each year since 1891 and as a percentage of the total. In 1921 the percentage was 6.8 and in 1931 it was 8.5. In these years the Irish-born resident in Scotland were 3.2% and 2.6% of the total population respectively but this does not include their dependants.⁵⁰ John Jeffrey, Secretary of the Department of Health, commented on the situation.

Under normal conditions an annual accession of about 2,000 immigrants from Ireland would be immaterial but with trade and industry heavily depressed as it has been during the past ten years, even that number must have had an effect in aggravating an otherwise difficult situation....To the extent to which immigrants have obtained employment, they have kept others, probably Scotsmen, out of work and to the extent to which the immigrants themselves are out of work they have probably added to the burden of expenditure on public assistance.⁵¹

These comments are indicative of the views of those in authority in Scotland at this time. They are probably also a reflection of the views held in more extreme form by

some of those more directly affected by the competition of immigrants for jobs.

Leith and Edinburgh Anti-Roman Catholicism

Leith, where Ratcliffe's SPL had its beginnings, was also the scene of John Cormack's first electoral success when he was elected for North Leith ward in 1934. Tom Gallagher says that Leith did not have a 'No Popery' tradition and Bob Purdie says that Leith had no tradition of anti-Catholicism or active anti-Irish bigotry, but this seems to ignore long established attitudes in the town.⁵² Leith was Scotland's busiest port throughout the sixteenth century, an obvious point of entry for new ideas. John Knox says 'the knowledge of god did wondrously increase within this realm... chiefly by merchants and mariners who, frequenting other countries, heard the true doctrine affirmed'. He named Leith as one of the principal ports of entry for the new religious ideas.⁵³ Prominent Leith men were prosecuted for heresy. In 1534, when Cardinal Beaton was anxious to curb the spread of Protestantism, many were summoned, two of whom, David Straiton and Norman Gourlay were hanged and burned. Several were forced to abjure and others went into exile to escape death.⁵⁴ The town was a stronghold of the Presbyterians in the troubles of the seventeenth century. Early in the nineteenth century one of Leith's main thoroughfares was 'named Constitution Street from the zealous opposition of the townspeople to Roman Catholic Emancipation, against which all the churches and trade incorporations had petitioned again and again'.⁵⁵ In mid-nineteenth century 'No Popery' classes were well attended by the respectable working class. The minute book for Leith Anti-popery Class of 1859-1860 lists 42 members including, 6 joiners, 5 engineers, 4 pupil teachers, 4 confectioners, 3 clerks, 2 sugar refiners, 2 printers, 2 masons, 2 warehousemen, 2 gardeners, 2 blacksmiths, 1 rope spinner, 1 brassfounder, 1 draper, 1 sawyer, 1 porter,

1 tinsmith, 1 bookbinder, all tradesmen and the like and all affiliated to Presbyterian or Episcopalian churches. The object of the class was 'to give all the young men attending it a thorough knowledge of Popery in all its aspects and by *viva voce* discussion acquire the ability of communicating that knowledge to others'.⁵⁶ In the 1920s and 1930s the Hope Trust was still giving out anti-RC literature. As already noted, one of Gallagher's informants for *Protestant Extremism*, J.G. MacLean, said of Cormack, 'he did not have to convert many to his (anti-catholic) views, they were already latently held'.⁵⁷ Leith-born George Malcolm Thomson wrote about the threat of the Irish including a futuristic novel about the take-over of Scotland by Irish RCs, *Caledonia, or the Future of the Scots* (1927). He prophesied in 1930, 'in the next few years she (Scotland) will come for the first time under the full weight of propagandist assault from Rome'.⁵⁸ His fears of a take-over echoed those expressed by Andrew Dewar Gibb, a lecturer at Edinburgh University and later Regius Professor of Law at Glasgow University, who wrote,

Thus in the heart of a dwindling though virile and intelligent race there is growing up another people, immeasurably inferior in every way....which is mainly responsible for Scottish slumdom, squatting and breeding in such numbers as to threaten in another hundred years to gain actual predominance in the country.⁵⁹

Jacob Primmer (1842-1915), a leading anti-RC clergyman, was also a product of Leith. While still a young boy he had been greatly affected by John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* which he read in a neighbour's house. In an account of his life he said of

much later years:

The powerful effect it had on me remains to this hour. It made me enquire why Rome had tortured and burnt men, women and even children. When I found out it was because they loved Christ and exposed and fought against Popish tyranny and superstition, these I began to hate, loathe and detest. Slowly arose from this the determination to fight against Rome.⁶⁰

He attended the Hope Anti-Popery classes as a young man and was its secretary for many years. Later he wrote Anti-Popery works believing that 'Many in all our churches are being fascinated and bewitched into accepting Popery as Christianity' and as an antidote published an 'account of what he saw and heard of the superstition, idolatry and blasphemy of Popery at Headquarters in Rome'.⁶¹ All of this created a very definite Protestant slant in attitudes to religion among the population of Leith, even, or perhaps particularly, those who were not churchgoers. Gallagher also contends that the success of the PAS must be attributed in major part to the oratory of Cormack⁶² but this is to give too much weight to the effect of a charismatic leader. Donovan gives a better clue to an understanding of the phenomenon when he says 'religious bigotry in most societies springs from an unthinking conformity to well established local traditions and an unreflecting devotion to cultural institutions and ways of thought rather than from mass psychological derangement'.⁶³ There was a long tradition of anti-Catholicism in Leith which continued into the 1930s when Protestant gospel halls and street corner missions were prominent features of life in the town. The novelist G.M. Thomson, with his warning of a propaganda assault by

the RC church, was articulating a commonly held fear of a resurgence of Roman Catholicism. Edinburgh too harboured anti-RC sentiments. It was the cradle of the Reformation in Scotland and had experienced anti-popery riots in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries including that of 1779 in protest against proposed RC Relief legislation when RC chapels were attacked.⁶⁴ As we have seen in chapter 3 the 1846, 1847 and 1852 Parliamentary elections in the city were contested by anti-RC candidates. In more recent times Ian S. Wood, writing on the libel case which John Wheatley (1869-1930), brought against a political opponent and a newspaper proprietor in 1927, cites a member of the Edinburgh jury claiming that the foreman had told them 'never to forget that, whatever the merits of Wheatley's case, he was still a socialist and a Roman Catholic'.⁶⁵ Clearly, Cormack tapped into a well of long existent feeling arising from the common understanding of the Protestant history of Scotland which is the reason for setting that history out at length in chapter 2. Moreover, the PAS was not the only Protestant group to contest municipal elections in Edinburgh in the 1930s. There were other political parties in the city, Protestant Parents, Protestant Defenders, Protestant Progressives, who adopted an anti-RC stance. Their participation in the events of the 1930s is considered in chapter 7.

In this chapter the political, economic and social background to Edinburgh in the early 1930s has been described. There was considerable political action in the town posing problems for the administration and the police. Official policy seems to have been to carry out surveillance of much of this activity but to allow an even-handed freedom of expression to all parties. Living conditions for the working class were more than difficult. Many suffered from long-term unemployment, poor housing and

under-nourishment. Irish immigrants, who were blamed by many for unemployment of native Scots and for slum housing conditions, were conspicuous when in work because they occupied the lowest level of employment as street labourers, on the tramways or other manual jobs in public service. Also, because of the advances of the RC Church, new churches, missions and other religious institutions, their presence in the city was increasingly manifest. The perceived assertive, even triumphalist, attitude of RC leaders in the twenties and early thirties made some native Scots in the capital, already suffering loss of confidence due to the continuing economic depression and lack of work, fearful that Scotland was to be converted to Roman Catholicism, not through conversion of the native population, but by the immigration of Irish RCs, ready to follow Cormack. There was, too, a degree of conditioning in that there was a tradition of anti-Catholicism in Edinburgh, particularly in the port of Leith where there was high unemployment in these decades. Publicity-seeking activities of the RC hierarchy in Edinburgh posed a direct challenge in the heart of Scottish Presbyterianism. The Westminster parliament was unresponsive to Scottish fears and complaints about Irish immigrants and the activities of the RC Church in the country, refusing to take measures to control immigration or to take action on what some saw as the challenge to the civil law posed by the Vatican's 'Ne Temere' decree. If the politicians in power at the national level would not take heed, perhaps local action would provide a channel for political expression of these feelings. All of this created conditions in which Cormack could reinvigorate traditional dislike, distrust and, indeed, fear of Roman Catholicism. Other parts of Scotland shared the hardship in the way of unemployment and poor housing seen in Edinburgh and Leith. What made the capital different was the extent

to which history and well-established local traditions had formed the outlook of so many of its citizens and, of course, John Cormack's use of traditional history to mobilise action against a minority blamed for current ills. Cormack was the catalyst but the other conditions were necessary for his campaigns to have any success.

The next chapter considers how Cormack in his 'No Popery' campaign in the 1930s used the history outlined in the earlier chapters of this thesis, the Reformation, the Protestant martyrologies, the story of the Covenanters and the actual and folk memories of Scots' experience of the Irish RCs in their midst during the preceding century all against the background of hardship caused by unemployment and poor housing in the city to mobilise mainly working class people of Edinburgh to his political advantage .

Notes to Chapter 5

- 1 *Glasgow Herald*, 7 February 1928.
- 2 *Census of Scotland 1931*, vol. III, p. xxvii.
- 3 ML, Local Unemployment Index, Dec. 1932, No. 72.
- 4 ML, Local Unemployment Index, Dec. 1936, No. 120.
- 5 Nora Milnes, *A Study of Industrial Edinburgh and the Surrounding Area* (London, 1936), vol. 1, p. 101.
- 6 *Ibid.*, Chart III, p. 85.
- 7 Smout, p. 117.
- 8 Ian Donnachie, 'Scottish Labour in the Depression' in *FORWARD! Labour Politics in Scotland 1888-1988*, pp. 49-65 (p. 50).
- 9 Irene T. Barclay, and Evelyn E. Perry, *Behind Princes Street – A Contrast, Report on Survey of Housing Conditions of 443 families situated in St Andrew's*

Ward, Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1931). The ward included India Place, Church Street, Church Place, Church Lane, Saunders Street, St James Square, and adjoining streets, Elder Clyde Street, Broughton Street, Little King Street, Leith Street, Duke Street, York Place, Rose Street and Thistle Street.

- 10 City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh, *Report on Overcrowding by Medical Officer of Health and Chief Sanitary Inspector* (Edinburgh, 1936), pp. 1 & 2. The criteria for overcrowding were laid down in the Housing (Scotland) Act, 1935, section 2(1). A dwelling house was overcrowded when the number of persons sleeping in the house was

(a) such that any two of these persons, being persons ten years old or more, of opposite sexes, and not persons living together as husband and wife, must sleep in the same room;

or (b) exceeded the permitted number of persons as defined in the First Schedule of the Act, in relation to the number and floor area of the rooms of which the house consisted.

Briefly, the number of persons to be permitted in each size of house was

- | | | | |
|-----------------|------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| (a) One room | 2 persons | (b) two rooms | 3 persons |
| (c) three rooms | 5 persons | (d) four rooms | 7 ^{1/2} persons |
| (e) five rooms | 10 persons | | |

with an additional two persons in respect of each room in excess of five.

- 11 *Ibid.*, p. i.

- 12 *House of Commons Hansard*, 28 June 1938, vol. 337, col. 1736.

- 13 *A Civic Survey and Plan for the City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh*, prepared for the Town Council by Patrick Abercrombie and Derek Plumstead (Edinburgh, 1949), Appendix 1, p. 90.

- 14 Mrs Constance Jamieson, born 18 January 1925. Her family had lived in Leith for four generations. She attended Harper Memorial Church in Coburg Street and served as a leader in the Greenwood in the 1940s.

- 15 Ministry of Labour Report for the year 1931, Cmd 4044, p. 13.

- 16 Robert Benewick, *Political Violence and Public Order: A Study of British Fascism* (London, 1969), p. 110.

- 17 Stuart Rawnsley, 'The Membership of the British Union of Fascists' in *British Fascism, Essays on the Radical Right in Inter-war Britain*, ed. by Kenneth Lunn & Richard C. Thurlow (London, 1980), pp. 150-165, (p. 162).

- 18 James D. Young, *The Rousing of the Scottish Working Class* (London, 1979), pp. 213-214.

- 19 Tony Milligan, 'The British Union of Fascists Policy in Relation to Scotland', *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 19, part 1 (1999), 1–15 (p. 1).
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 21 A.J. Taylor and Graham Roberts, eds, *Purnell's History of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1971), Vol. 4, p. 1092.
- 22 *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 1398.
- 23 Gallagher, *Glasgow*, p. 206
- 24 A translation of this document is at pp. 228-235 of Fremantle's *Papal Encyclicals*.
- 25 Taylor and Roberts, Vol. 6, p. 448.
- 26 Ian S. Wood, 'Labour in Scotland in the 1920s' in *FORWARD! Labour Politics in Scotland 1888-1988*, pp. 30-48, (p. 33). Wood sees the RC vote as crucial to Labour success in this and later elections.
- 27 Gallagher, *Glasgow*, p. 168.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 210.
- 29 *Ibid.*, pp. 207-8.
- 30 David and Gareth Butler, *Twentieth Century British Political Facts 1900-2000* (London, 2000), p. 235.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 235.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 240.
- 33 *Scotsman*, 6 November 1935..
- 34 *Edinburgh Corporation, Town Clerk's Department, File No. 4, Letting of Usher Hall, 1st October 1935 to 31st December 1949, police report 25th September 1935.*
- 35 *Ibid.*, police report 13 October 1935.
- 36 *Edinburgh Corporation, Treasurers Committee Minutes 1934-35*, p. 550.
- 37 *Edinburgh Corporation, Treasurers Committee Minutes 1935-36*, p. 261.
- 38 NAS, HH 55/676, SO file 353001/13D.

- 39 *Scotsman*, 3 November 1937.
- 40 The activities of Chalmers-Hunter and Mrs Botha are examined by Liz Kibblewhite & Andy Rigby, *Fascism in Aberdeen : Street Politics in the 1930s* (Aberdeen, 1978).
- 41 Benewick, *Political Violence*, p. 110.
- 42 Richard C. Thurlow, 'British Fascism and State Surveillance, 1934 – 1945', *Intelligence and National Security*, 3, (1988), 77-99 (p 79), quoting from Public Record Office, HO 144/20158/102-3.
- 43 NAS, HH 55/673, SO file series 35300.
- 44 NAS, HH 1/777, SO file series 5415.
- 45 NAS, HH 55/679, SO file 353001/13H.
- 46 NAS, HH 55/676, SO file 353001/13D.
- 47 Gallagher, *Glasgow*, p. 156.
- 48 No figures are available for the 1930s but the 1943 Edinburgh parish census, for which there was no return for St Mary's Cathedral, found a total of 31,196.
- 49 NAS, HH 55/596, SO file 37110/1.
- 50 *Census of Scotland 1931*, vol. II, Table 47.
- 51 NAS, HH 55/596, SO file 37110/1.
- 52 Tom Gallagher, 'Protestant Extremism in Urban Scotland 1930-1938', in *Scottish Historical Review*, 64 (1985), 143-167 (p. 157). Bob Purdie, 'An Ulster Labourist in Liberal Scotland: William Walker and the Leith Burghs Election of 1910', in *Scotland and Ulster*, ed. Ian S. Wood (Edinburgh, 1994), pp. 116-133 (p. 122).
- 53 John Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. William Croft Dickinson (London, 1905), p. 25.
- 54 *Ibid.*, pp. 24 & 25.
- 55 John Russell, *The Story of Leith* (Edinburgh, 1922), p. 158.
- 56 NAS, GD 253/18, The Hope Papers, document 5.
- 57 Gallagher, 'Protestant Extremism', p. 160.

- 58 G.M. Thomson, *Porpoise Pamphlets No. 1, Will the Scottish Church Survive?* (Edinburgh, 1930), p. 20.
- 59 Andrew Dewar Gibb, *Scotland in Eclipse* (London, 1930), pp. 56 – 57.
- 60 J. Boyd Primmer, *The Life of Jacob Primmer* (Edinburgh 1916), p. 3.
- 61 Jacob Primmer, *Pastor Jacob Primmer, minister of Townhill Church of Scotland, Dunfermline in Rome, Naples and Florence in 1895* (London, 1897), p. vii.
- 62 Gallagher, *Glasgow*, p. 163.
- 63 Donovan, p. 149.
- 64 Kenneth Logue, *Popular Disturbances in Scotland 1780 – 1815* (Edinburgh, 1979), records the riots as the only method the common people had of giving effective expression to their concerns.
- 65 Ian S. Wood, *John Wheatley*, (Manchester, 1990), p. 171.

Chapter 6

John Cormack and the Protestant Action Society

By the 1930s there had been a significant social change in Scotland. In addition to its political impact the Labour Party had exerted a strong and often negative influence on religious mores in Scotland. Respectability, to which a large part of the working class aspired, had long been associated with the Presbyterian churches. Labour politics had contributed to the creation of a new idea of respectability, unconnected with religion.¹ An important incentive for church going was weakened and although there is some debate on the matter, there does seem to have been a decline in the influence of the Presbyterian churches during the early decades of the twentieth century.² Callum Brown records that 'between the 1850s and the 1950s the proportion of Presbyterian church members attending Sunday worship fell from around three-quarters to one-quarter'.³ For all churches he notes a decline in adherence from around 50 per cent of the population in 1900 to just over 40 per cent in 1944.⁴ The influence of the churches in social and civil matters was lessened by the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1929 which abolished the local elected Poor Law Authorities and education authorities on which churches had been powerfully represented, transferring these responsibilities to the Local Authorities. Yet for many people Scottish identity continued to be based on patriotism, being part of the British Empire, and religion. To be Scots was to be Presbyterian. For Edinburgh there was an additional layer of complexity. Mr A.H. Paton, President of Edinburgh and District Trades Council, addressing the Labour Party Annual Conference in the city in 1936, analysed the social/political situation in the city which he considered posed

particular problems for the Labour Party. Once a capital city in the full sense, and with the Scottish Office poised to be relocated there, it retained its cultural leadership as the centre of Scotland's government. It had a uniquely complex working population with a low ratio of industrial workers. He concluded:

These complex circumstances naturally produce in Edinburgh a social consciousness rather different from what is to be found in most industrial centres... Workers themselves, unemployed as well as employed, tend to become infected with the prevailing atmosphere of respectability... For some time many working people have been finding an outlet for their enthusiasm in religious sectarianism... Probably in no other modern city of the size of Edinburgh could a similar movement assume such dimensions, and it is only against the background of Edinburgh's peculiar psychology that the phenomenon of such a sectarian growth can be properly understood'.⁵

This analysis fails to acknowledge the importance of sectarianism in the politics of Glasgow, Belfast and Liverpool. It is, nevertheless, an interesting reading of the effect of these factors arising from Edinburgh's past, which, together with the traditional version of the religious history of Scotland brought out in chapter 2 of this thesis, the immigration of large numbers of Irish in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries addressed in chapter 3, the response of the Presbyterian churches to the arrival of these Irish, with the concomitant ever increasingly obvious presence, perceived as threatening,

of the Church of Rome, considered in chapter 4 and the local, national and international economic, social and political conditions affecting the city reviewed in chapter 5, created the setting for the PAS and its brief but significant success in 1930s Edinburgh.

Throughout the 1920s there had been constant anti-Irish-RC agitation by both church and lay organisations. The 1923 General Assembly of the Church of Scotland urged the government to 'stem the tide' of Irish immigration. Of Irish RCs it said, 'They cannot be assimilated and absorbed into the Scottish race. They remain a people by themselves, segregated by reason of their race, their customs, their traditions, and above all by their loyalty to their church, and gradually and inevitably dividing Scotland, racially, socially and ecclesiastically'.⁶ That remained the view of the Church at the end of the decade but despite the combined efforts of the Presbyterian Churches, Protestant lay organisations and some Scottish Conservative MPs who campaigned for regulation of Irish immigration and initiatives by the Scottish Office, the government had not been persuaded to take action. The extent of the agitation may be gauged from the fact that in the period 1922-1938 the Scottish Office opened thirty-seven files in a series 'Irish Immigration', including sixteen for Parliamentary Questions.⁷ The disappointment, indeed frustration, of those who had looked for some curb on this 'alien race' was exacerbated by the desperate economic and social plight of those in the lower orders of society who had to compete with the incomers for employment, housing and financial support in adversity. As noted in chapter 5, at the start of the 1930s the rate of unemployment was high and rising while unemployment benefit and poor relief were inadequate and grudgingly given. Also noted in chapter 5 was the housing situation.

Many houses in Edinburgh, as in Scotland as a whole, were below standard and rehousing of slum dwellers was proceeding only slowly. Irish RC immigrants were blamed for both the extent of unemployment and poor housing conditions. Despite the campaign for a curb on Irish immigration there seemed no likelihood of any national political party formally espousing the anti-Irish-RC cause. The field was clear for a local champion and, as Colin Holmes has shown, 'economic and religious influences working together could become addled into a powerful anti-Irish compound'.⁸

Ratcliffe and the Scottish Protestant League

An earlier challenger was Alexander Ratcliffe, son of a clergyman in the Scottish Coast Mission. Born in Bo'ness in 1888, he had been brought up in Leith where evangelical Protestantism was still a feature of religious life. In 1920 he founded the Scottish Protestant League (SPL), which was one of the most vociferous anti-RC organisations during the ensuing decade. A persuasive speaker, he also used the press to spread his gospel and wrote a play on mixed, ie Protestant/RC, marriages, *The Trial of Father Diamond*, and a number of pamphlets. The party paper, *The Protestant Advocate*, ran from 1920-1931. He was elected to the Edinburgh Education Authority in 1925 and stood as an independent candidate for Stirling and Falkirk in the 1929 parliamentary election, obtaining 21.3% of the vote.⁹ However he made insufficient progress in Edinburgh and moved to Glasgow where he started a new paper, *The Vanguard*. His party had some success in municipal elections, winning seats in Dennistoun and Dalmarnock in 1931 and Kinning Park in 1932. In the following year, with 23% of the vote, the party gained four wards, Camphill, Cathcart, Govanhill and Dennistoun,

previously held by Moderates (Conservatives). A main plank of the party's programme, which Ratcliffe claimed was supported by the Moderate Party, was a demand for repeal of that part of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 which provided for state-funded schools for RCs. However, Ratcliffe's autocratic style of leadership caused rifts in the party and by 1934 the organisation was disintegrating. Nevertheless, he was causing alarm in the RC hierarchy. According to the historian Tom Gallagher the election of 1934 saw an example of the political strength of the RC Church. The Moderate Party had agreed not to oppose Ratcliffe in Dennistoun in return for the SPL not opposing Moderates elsewhere. Archbishop Mackintosh considered the SPL-Moderate alliance a threat to RC educational interests. Gallagher notes a letter from Canon William Daly to all Glasgow parish priests arranging a meeting with Archbishop Mackintosh at the Catholic Institute to underline the danger.¹⁰ The Catholic Union mobilised the RC vote, Labour did not put forward a candidate and an Independent Moderate won the seat with 4,754 votes to Ratcliffe's 4,404. Overall, the SPL got only 7% of the vote in Glasgow at this election. Ratcliffe remained in politics but he was never again a significant force.

Cormack and the PAS

As Ratcliffe's star waned in Glasgow a new champion of anti-Irish-RC sentiment came to the fore in Edinburgh, John Cormack, eldest of the six children of a Baptist lay preacher, born and raised in Edinburgh, and a man of the people.¹¹ Throughout the 1930s the police monitored his political activities and the following resume of his life to 1935 is taken from a report by the Procurator Fiscal (PF). Cormack was the General Secretary and Organiser of the PAS. He had joined the Argyll and Sutherland

Highlanders as a boy soldier before the 1914-1918 war and during the hostilities served in France. After the war he joined a force known as the Black and Tans, set up to help police Ireland during the Troubles of 1919-21. (In his memoirs, Cormack says his service in Ireland was with the 2nd battalion of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.)¹² After discharge from the forces he returned to Edinburgh where he obtained employment as a sorting clerk in the Post Office but was dismissed in 1928. It seems that he was under suspicion of theft but, despite the use of test letters, no evidence was found to justify prosecution. The ground given for his dismissal was that he had been insolent to a superior officer. For three years he was unemployed except for hawking fruit in season. In 1931 he was a member of the Edinburgh Protestant Society becoming active as a speaker but was expelled for uttering threats of physical violence to RCs. He founded the PAS on 24 July 1933 with offices at 11 Albany Street, Edinburgh. In August 1935 the Society, whose objects were to spread the principles of true Protestantism, and to oppose the erroneous teachings of Romanism at every opportunity, had 4,000 members who paid a shilling a year membership fee. Cormack was paid £4-5s (£4.25) a week, his first lieutenant James Marr was paid £2 and the office caretaker £2-10s (£2.50). In the PF's opinion Cormack was 'an absolute dictator' in the Society, appointing the office bearers and members of the executive and brooking no interference from the main body of supporters. The PF had no doubt that Cormack kept the party alive through publicity. He placed striking adverts in the papers but preferred news reports to publicise PAS actions and propaganda. The trouble arising from PAS demonstrations was 'very much exaggerated in the majority of newspapers'. If it were possible to 'stop publicity for him his whole propaganda would come to a quick and

ignominious end'. The PF also opined that exaggeration was not confined to the press. 'There is too, considerable exaggeration on the part of His Grace the Archbishop'.¹³

Contrast with Earlier Anti-RC Organisations

Despite the Presbyterian Churches' campaign for restriction on the immigration of Irish RCs into Scotland they gave no backing to Cormack's endeavours in this field. Some individual ministers were active in support but they were a small minority. Cormack was obviously not a welcome ally to the most likely bodies already in the field. His party was a complete contrast to earlier Edinburgh anti-RC organisations which in the nineteenth century had been led by pillars of the establishment like John Hope, a prominent solicitor, related to the Earl of Hopetoun. The Edinburgh Irish Mission was run by leading members of the Free Presbyterian Church. The Knox Club of 1909-1917 was organised by the elite of Edinburgh Protestants. The PAS was established and run by working class men and found its support overwhelmingly in the same class.

As noted in chapter 4, during the later 1920s and the 1930s, following the Grand Master's policy of avoiding direct political involvement, the Orange Order at the national level did not take part in the campaign for a curb on Irish immigration. While active in defence of Protestantism the Order did not recognise Cormack as an ally and, given its attitude to political action, could not endorse his campaigns in Edinburgh. He was for a time prominent in the Portobello True Blue Lodge No. 188 but was expelled in 1934 'on a charge of having used defamatory language towards officials of the Orange Order'.¹⁴ He was readmitted later that year after sending a written apology to the Grand

Lodge Committee.¹⁵ However, expressing disappointment at the failure of the organisation to enter the political field as an Order, he resigned his membership in 1936.¹⁶ When, on reconsideration, he asked to be reinstated his application was refused.¹⁷ He continued to try to be an influence on the Order and in April 1938 the Grand Lodge Committee appointed a delegation to investigate the penetration of PAS members in lodges in the Edinburgh area. The delegation was empowered to refuse the nomination of any Brother who was a member of the PAS.¹⁸ At the May meeting of the Committee it was reported that 'as anticipated' a PAS member was nominated for office in Edinburgh District but the nomination was not accepted.¹⁹ In 1940 a committee appointed to consider complaints against the PAS expressed confidence in the District office bearers' ability to ensure that there was no interference with the Order by the PAS.²⁰ Clearly there was no rapport between Cormack and the Orange Order at either local or national level.

Cormack complained about the rejection of his application to rejoin, claiming that he had been 'instrumental in remaking the Orange Order in Edinburgh'.²¹ I have been unable to find official membership figures for the Order but it seems that it was never strong numerically in the Edinburgh area in the 1930s. The figures in the following table were calculated by the Rev. Gordon McCracken from financial returns made by District Lodges. They are given to the last digit but they are estimates.

Orange Lodge Membership-Edinburgh East Lothian and Midlothian 1931-1939

	1931	1932	1933	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Edinburgh	337	289	337	447	462	542	800	954
East Lothian	561	634	396	334	278	256	363	399
Midlothian	*	*	392	498	455	642	796	693
Total	898	923	1125	1279	1195	1440	1959	2046

* Midlothian District Lodge was not formed until 1933.

Membership in Scotland increased from 49,654 in 1937 to 50,446 in 1938. In Edinburgh, East Lothian and Midlothian it was very low compared to central Glasgow (that is excluding Cowcaddens, Springburn, Kelvingrove, Partick, Parkhead and the suburbs) which was 7,330 in 1939.²² It was much lower than the 4,000 membership of the PAS in 1935 (see above). Whatever influence Cormack had on the Order did not make it a significant presence in the capital city. With the help of the Grand Master, the Rev. Alan Hasson, he was able to rejoin in the late 1950s and subsequently was deputy master of the Portobello Lodge for many years. After his death in 1978 the lodge was renamed 'Cormack's Protestant Defenders' in his memory.

What had changed between the 1930s and the 1950s that prompted this change of heart by the Orange Order? It could be that the change was one of personality; the Grand Master in the 1930s, a charismatic character himself, may have resented the challenge of another such high profile activist in the ranks of the organisation. Or it could be that by the 1950s Cormack was no longer a threat of any kind. The PAS as an organisation had

little influence and Cormack was just another local councillor. In the 1930s, however, he had been able to pose as the local political champion, taking up the cause of Protestants and arguing their case vigorously at a time when the Orange Order was eschewing a direct political role. For some people it may have seemed that he was their only hope.

The Genesis of the PAS

Cormack cited his experience in Ireland as at the root of his anti-Roman Catholicism. Until then he 'had always regarded Roman Catholic priests as the same as our Protestant ministers'.²³ The first chapter of his memoirs has accounts of priests in Ireland leading the persecution of Protestants. It concludes:

I thus developed a hatred of Roman Catholic priests, but more so because I learned those same priests were organising murder groups....In fact, in many cases priests were the commanders of groups involved in terrorism of Protestants and fighting the British army by murderous methods.

So, I had an experience which was to influence my way of life.²⁴

From his subsequent career the experience did not so much influence as determine his way of life. For a few years from 1933 Cormack's anti-Roman Catholicism transformed Edinburgh politics. He brought people onto the streets to an extent unequalled since the days of the 'Blue Blanket' riots in the eighteenth century when Joseph Smith, following an Edinburgh craftsmen's tradition, led popular protests. Cormack also persuaded more

people to vote in municipal elections. His influence was exercised through oratory, in print through pamphlets, posters and newspapers, his own *Protestant 'Action'* and the local and national press. Although these activities were concurrent and intimately linked it might be as well to consider them separately. This chapter considers the PAS's use of history in its propaganda utilising the printing press, particularly the party journal *Protestant 'Action'*, and PAS-organised meetings, gatherings and demonstrations. The election campaigns are dealt with in the next chapter.

Use of the Printing Press

In the 1930s printing provided a simple and inexpensive mode of propaganda. Posters and pamphlets were relatively easy to prepare and produce in considerable numbers. A pamphlet entitled *Papists are Traitors*, written by a noted anti-RC polemicist, C.R. Boyd Freeman, seems to have been a best seller at a penny each. It took up a theme common in Protestant publications over the centuries. The 8 July 1939 issue of *Protestant 'Action'* reported a further print of 5,000 copies of the pamphlet. PAS got 1,000 following 2,000 of a previous print. In the 1937 municipal election, pamphlets were an important feature of the PAS and Labour Party campaigns. By this time the PAS, which earlier had attacked Labour and the Progressives impartially, was concentrating on opposing what it termed the 'Popish-Labour-Party'. A pamphlet put the case bluntly. It quoted the *Catholic Herald*, 'Without the solid support of the Catholic Vote, Labour would never have reached its present influence'. From a RC journal, *Diocesan Record*, came another quote, 'With Catholics it is religion first and Politics after'. Further it featured a statement by the RC Archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh, Andrew

McDonald, 'the power of the 750,000 Catholics in Scotland would have immense influence on current tendencies'. The pamphlet notes, 'and the majority are in the Labour Party'. (See Appendix 6) The Labour Party issued four leaflets in this election campaign. Numbers 1, 2 and 3 were on its current policy, free milk for children, free hospitals and slum clearance. The fourth was devoted to an attack on the PAS in which the unity of Protestant and Catholic workers was stressed. (See Appendix 7) The RC-Labour Party connection was a long running theme in PAS propaganda. The *Scotsman* of 6 May 1935, in a report of a full house meeting at the Usher Hall (capacity 3,000) said that Cormack claimed that Labour would very soon be a party according to Catholic principles. Because of that the PAS must fight the Labour Party and 'we are going to fight them'. For the PAS the party journal and pamphlets were essential because it was not a mainstream party familiar to the electorate, and the poor organisational structure of the party, in which policy and propaganda decisions were made effectively by Cormack himself, meant that he needed direct communication with his supporters in order to get his message across. It was made doubly necessary by the hostility of the local press which is discussed below. However there were negative aspects of pamphleteering for the PAS. During 1938 pamphlets issued by other parties were obviously a cause of concern. (These are discussed in chapter 7.) On 3 September 1938 the party's journal was constrained to advise its readers, 'Don't be sidetracked by pamphlets and false statements by irresponsibles - come to our meetings and hear the truth'.

The Use of History as Propaganda

That version of the history of Protestantism as set out in the second chapter of this thesis,

the martyrs and heroes of the Reformation, the defence of the English and Scottish nations against European RC powers, the frustration of plots against Protestant rulers and the underlying suspicion and fear of Roman Catholicism, had been consistently important elements in the shaping of national identity in Britain since the sixteenth century. For the Scots, the suffering of Presbyterians in the attempt in the seventeenth century by the later Stuarts to impose an episcopal system on the national church added another bitter chapter and further occasions for remembrance. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the immigration of great numbers of Irish RCs posed a new perceived threat, the overwhelming of the native population by an alien people bringing a return of dominant Roman Catholicism. These themes in traditional history and folk memory were important in the creation of the way in which the majority of Scots probably still saw themselves in the 1930s and were the basis of PAS propaganda.

The Society's journal, *Protestant 'Action'*, edited by Cormack, had a clear function, to place the PAS in the line of Protestant history. It was a fortnightly journal devoted to the doings of the PAS, the misdeeds of the Church of Rome and of RCs more generally and reminders of Scottish history as propaganda in support of the cause. The importance of history is stressed in an editorial of 29 April 1939, 'The Papists are afraid of history because it exposes their awful practices, but Protestants welcome the study of history because it proves what a gloriously fine principle it (Protestantism) is'. This had been a consistent theme of earlier anti-RC organisations, history as the most effective propaganda. The paper followed a tradition of anti-RC rhetoric. In the nineteenth century the Protestant Alliance had as its object, 'To maintain and defend against all the

encroachments of Popery, the Scriptural doctrines of the Reformation and the principles of religious liberty, as the best security under GOD for the temporal and spiritual freedom of the British Empire'.²⁵ The Alliance published a monthly letter that claimed to expose the machinations of the Roman Church in its campaign to re-conquer Britain. The indexes for the years 1890 and 1891 have lists of articles which are mirrored in the content of *Protestant 'Action'* - the Reformation, Protestant Martyrs, the Inquisition, the traitorous activities of Jesuits, RC perfidy over the centuries and RC conspiracies to overthrow the British constitution.²⁶ The name of the party and the title of the journal, *Protestant 'Action'*, indicated direct opposition to Catholic Action, the social movement promoted by the papacy in late nineteenth century to bind the laity and clergy together under the direction of the hierarchy to assist in the advancement of the church.²⁷ The journal was also a response to the RC newspapers in Scotland which Father Tom Connolly of the Catholic Media Office is reported as saying 'acted almost as propaganda papers in wartime' and 'served a very useful purpose'.²⁸ Gallagher quotes the *Glasgow Observer* of 23 October 1926, 'We place our journals and their policy under the direction of the Holy See'.²⁹

First published as an eight-page tabloid (43 cms x 27 cms) *Protestant 'Action'* was changed to a quarto format of sixteen pages (29 cms x 20 cms) in August 1938. It was published fortnightly and cost two-pence. Under the journal's title every issue carried a declaration establishing the conservative and patriotic nature of the PAS.

We have a great desire to be supremely British. That purpose we

know we can accomplish by continuing the process which has made us British. We must reach out and think the thoughts of those who established our institutions. The education which made them must not be divorced from the education which is to make us.

In the issues of the journal which I have been able to trace, covering the period 11 December 1937 to 16 September 1939, the history of Protestantism was a constant and large part of the contents.³⁰ It provided the main theme of articles and reference points for contemporary reporting. During this period there were twenty mentions of Protestant martyrs and massacres by Roman Catholics linked to twenty-seven references to reports of modern atrocities in Abyssinia, Mexico and Spain, all of which the paper claimed had Papal blessing. The issue of 1 October 1938, reporting on the conflict in Abyssinia, asserted that 'the Pope was aiding and abetting Mussolini in the massacre'. There is a quotation in the 10 June 1939 issue from the Bishop of Birmingham in a debate on Peace, 'when the unfortunate Abyssinians were being overwhelmed by poison gas there were triumphal masses throughout Italy and these were not condemned by the Pope'. Regarding the Spanish civil war, the paper quotes from a telegram sent by the Pope to General Franco, leader of the insurgent forces, 'we give sincere thanks to your Excellency for Spain's desired Catholic victory'. A letter published in the journal on 15 October 1938 claims that the 'Inquisition is established and working in territory ruled by General Franco'. An editorial in the 29 April 1939 issue, quoting from the Protestant journal *Vigilant*, stressed the connection between RCs and Fascism. The Lateran Treaty is noted as putting 'millions into the coffers of the Vatican' and making Mussolini 'free to

begin his wars of aggression'. The 'rank and file of the Church in Germany and Austria' is said to have supported Hitler on the advice of their bishops while the 'Protestant Church in Germany has suffered seriously'. The editorial ends with the declaration that 'all Fascist dictators are Papists'.³¹

In the nineteen months for which copies of the journal are available, the Reformation had twenty substantive references, there were seven on the conflicts with James VI and I, Charles I, Charles II and James II and twenty-one on the nineteenth and twentieth century 'Irish Invasion'. The reign of Queen Mary in England is described in the issue of 8 July 1939 as 'the reign of "Bloody Mary"'. Nearly every issue carried a front-page leading article by William Allen. In the tabloid version at least a full page, in the smaller format up to four pages, recounted the history of Protestantism, examined some aspect of Roman Catholicism compared to Protestant belief or warned of the danger of RCs occupying influential positions in parliament, the administration, local government and in the media. The last had been for centuries a constant concern of those opposed to the RC Church and was a mirror of the papal advice, quoted in chapter 2, page 55, that having RCs in such positions would do more than anything to maintain Roman Catholicism and promote the extirpation of heresies.³² The articles made frequent reference to the 'threat of Romanism' and constantly warned against the RC end plan of 'domination of Britain and extirpation of Protestants – the Papal Conspiracy'. As noted in chapter 2, this had been an enduring feature of anti-RC writing since the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. The theme is probably most clearly set out in the issue for 19 February 1938, which relates the Reformation to a contemporary event, the setting up of

an Italian Mission in Britain. The key passage reads:

Apart from the Romish system being entirely subversive to the truth of God and the purity of the Gospel, it is openly antagonistic to the civil liberties and social interests of men. At the time of the Reformation the people of Britain had fully experienced to their hearts core the intolerable burden and the social and civil consequences of Popery and Priestcraft, and it was their determination to heave off the enormous incubus whose mischief had utterly passed the limits of human endurance.³³

The following issue on 5 March 1938 quoted from the introduction by the Rev. Mr Percy Dearmer to Dr Marie Stopes' book *Roman Catholic Methods of Birth Control* (quoted in chapter 4, pp. 137-8) on the Church of Rome's endeavour to control the media and to acquire a dominating political position in Britain.

The events of that version of the history of the Reformation, Protestant martyrs, RC massacres and the travails of Presbyterians in preserving their religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries set out in chapter 2 of this thesis are often referenced in emotive terms not only in the leading articles but also in other contributions and news items. The 11 December 1937 issue quoted the Rev. T. De Witt Talmage, a noted American preacher, under the heading 'Lest You Forget'.

We can never forget, forgive or trust the church that burned
 John Oldcastle and scattered the ashes of Wiclyffe, and
 massacred the Waldenses, and dug the Inquisition, and roasted
 over slow fire Nicholas Ridley, and had medals struck in honour
 of St Bartholemew's Massacre, and took God's children and cut
 out their tongues, and poured hot lead into their ears, and tore
 out their nails with pincers.³⁴

Scottish martyrs were acknowledged by name. The story of the martyrdom in
 Edinburgh of David Stratton was given in a one and a half column article on 15 October
 1938 and that of Robert Lamb and his wife at Perth was featured on 29 October 1938.
 The reigns of the late Stuart monarchs, James I and VI, Charles I, Charles II and James
 II and the suffering of non-conformists in these times were recalled in Allen's leading
 articles over several issues in August, September and October 1938. He returned to this
 theme for the two issues of July 1939 and in the final edition on 16 September 1939
 under the heading, 'Perfidious Stuart Kings, Jesuits and Popery. King William III and
 Protestantism'. On 8 July he reminded his readers of the suffering of the Covenanters,
 'the butcheries of Lag, Dalryell and Clavers'. Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, General
 Thomas Dalryell and Claverhouse (John Graham, Viscount Dundee) were regarded as
 three of the foremost persecutors of the Covenanters. This is in the tradition of the folk
 memory of the Covenanting days described at pages 65-71 of chapter 2. Charles II is
 portrayed as 'the great hypocrite' and his reign as most important in the clash of Popery
 and Protestantism. William of Orange is praised for his victory at the Battle of the

Boyne. The 22 July issue records James II's attempts to establish arbitrary rule and to re-establish Roman Catholicism. It ends with a peroration, 'every question of these latter days has already been fought out, in principle at least, through blood and tears, through prison and fine, through Revolution and Civil War by those who have gone before us'.³⁵ The last issue of the journal, completing Allen's series of articles on the 'perfidious Stuart Kings', considered the war in Ireland in 1689. It has a passage on Londonderry's 105 days of siege 'in the very jaws of death, in the very mouth of hell', which concludes, 'the defence of Derry was the achievement of a race and a religion that deserve to prevail'.³⁶

Immigration from Ireland was a common subject for the journal, always referred to in emotive terms. Articles were given titles such as 'Popish Immigration Menace' on 22 January 1938, 'The Popish Irish Invasion' on 8 July 1939 and 'Papist Invasion' on 22 July 1939. An increase in the population of Scotland evoked a comment on 5 August 1939, 'it is first and foremost the Irish Invasion that is responsible, and the increase is of the worst type of citizen that the world ever saw', echoing the concerns expressed by the Registrar General noted in chapter 3, pages 90-91 and 97.

Press Bias

Contemporary events commemorating the 'days of trial' were reported. On 30 April 1938 the journal had a piece on a meeting organised by the PAS on 17 April in the Grassmarket for the three-hundredth anniversary of the National Covenant, which was attended by several thousand people. The open-air gathering was followed by a well-

attended evening meeting in the Usher Hall. In the *Protestant 'Action'* report and an editorial the Press is accused of failing to give advance publicity to these obviously popular events, 'a Press subsidised by Popish money'. Cormack and his followers complained frequently and bitterly about bias in the press. In particular they were incensed by what they claimed was censorship by selection of news items. Those concerning Roman Catholics shown in a good light were published. Protestant Action events were ignored. The editors of the *Scotsman* and the Edinburgh evening papers were particularly criticised for refusing to print letters from PAS or its supporters sent in reply to letters or speeches by RCs which had been published. In the 30 April 1938 issue under the heading 'Letters the Scotsman would not Print' appeared four letters sent in response to pro-Italian and pro-Mussolini letters published in that paper. There were twenty mentions of such bias in *Protestant 'Action'* during 1938 – 1939 including a two page article on 29 October 1938 on 'How The Scotsman Favours Papists'. The *Daily Mail* was accused in the 15 October 1938 issue of committing 'sins of omission and commission in favour of Papists'. Another very specific accusation of press bias was made in the issue of 26 November 1938. The *Evening Dispatch* had published a letter complaining about the PAS attitude to RCs. The writer expressed the hope that Joseph Kennedy, US ambassador to the UK and a RC, who was to be given the freedom of Edinburgh, would not suffer the same treatment as Joseph Lyons, the RC Prime Minister of Australia, when he was given this honour. (See below, p. 231) A response by PAS was not printed. The *Protestant 'Action'* article drew attention to the Irish-sounding name of the editor of the *Dispatch*, Mr McLaughlin. Another article in the same issue says 'Jesuitical influence in the Press has made political education of the workers

impossible'. Clearly Cormack had an appreciation of the power of the press and was acutely aware that the local organs did not favour his party.

International Aspects of Publicity

Protestant 'Action' frequently quoted from other Protestant journals both in the UK and abroad.³⁷ During 1938 it carried twenty-four pieces from such papers, including thirteen from overseas, mostly concerned with RC endeavours to dominate. A quote from the *Ulster Protestant* in the issue of 28 May 1938 gives the essence of several contributions from Australia. It says the RC Church in that country told RCs that it was their duty to 'capture all positions controlling the affairs of this fair land and help to make Australia the home of the only true faith'. This echoed an old anti-RC theme and Cormack's frequent warnings about RCs in Britain. Publication of these extracts from sister publications was part of the Society's endeavour to demonstrate that there was a worldwide reaction to RC plans to take control in Protestant countries. Two quotations published on 28 May and 11 June 1938, from the *Ulster Protestant*, reported persecution of Protestants in the Irish Free State, reinforcing PAS claims of what RCs would do once they gained the upper hand. The first from *Ulster Protestant*, April 1938 claimed that persecution of Protestants in the IFS had caused a fall in their number from 350,000 to 200,000 between 1911 and 1926. 'This extraordinary decline of Protestants is due to a cleverly veiled persecution campaign'. Protestants could not get work. The report goes on to claim, 'this is where "Catholic Action" comes in. We know personally a Dublin employer.... who was told plainly that unless he would employ "Catholics" he would immediately be put out of business'. The quotation on 11 June 1938 was of a letter from

'Cromwell's Lieutenant' addressed from Dublin. He complained of Protestant cemeteries being disturbed by official action for a variety of reasons, of Protestant firms being put out of business and of farmers being forced to sell up 'at any price'. All of this is ascribed to 'Catholic Action'. The letter finishes with a plea. 'Can nothing be done to bring pressure to bear on the British Imperial Parliament to deliver us from the cruel, persecuting age-old hatred of Romanism?'. On 4 February 1939 a one page article entitled 'The Uncivilised Irish', claimed 'we can only give a relatively short selection of thousands of dastardly acts which have been committed by these uncivilised Papist Irish savages. Murder, rape, arson, robbery, have been going on these past twenty years, practically unchecked by the Government, practically without redress to the courts, practically without any punishment even for murderers'. It ends with a claim that 'the editors of all the largest newspapers in Britain have been guilty of a conspiracy of silence. They have tried to prevent the public of Britain knowing what has been going on in Ireland'.³⁸ The PAS journal had linked two of its common accusations, modern day persecution of Protestants and the bias of the media.

The Party Journal

The PAS journal also served as a social diary for party members and followers. In addition to providing for committee meetings the Corner Rooms in North Junction Street, part of North Leith ward, was a social centre. A regular item in the journal was Corner Room Chatter, which fostered the social life of the party. As well as the usual fund raising events there were regular whist nights and other functions. A speakers' class run by the party makes a parallel with the 'No Popery' group run by Hope in the

nineteenth century; both had the object of equipping members with the ability to debate the differences between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. The 23 July 1938 issue was typical of the balance of content. The leading article 'Idolatrous Worship' and an internal piece 'Perfidy of Papist Priests' together occupied three of the eight pages. News of the party, including an end of session report from the speaker's class, and appeals for electoral support filled the equivalent of one and a half pages while articles about Irish immigration, 'papist Mussolini', unpatriotic RCs, getting rid of papists in positions of power and a RC pilgrimage to Dunfermline filled another page and a half. The remainder consisted of a two column humorous piece, a cartoon and advertisements for local shops and for PAS functions.

The PAS journal made great use of a version of history in which Protestants, particularly Presbyterians, were victims of persecution by rulers who were RC or leaned to Roman Catholicism. It linked this to current fears of a return of such persecution or, more generally, just fear of Roman Catholicism, of papal plots or RC conspiracies. It has not been possible to ascertain circulation figures for the journal but it is clear that they were falling in 1938. The issue of 1 October 1938 reported that sales had dropped dramatically and that of 15 October 1938 said it would no longer be available at newsagents. The impact of the journal's emphasis on history can only be guessed at from the popularity of the party's street meetings at which references to this history were staple ingredients of speeches. It does, however, indicate the importance the party placed on history, making it the basis of its propaganda, building on commonly held ideas of a Scottish people with a Presbyterian faith which had survived despite the

sometimes draconian measures taken against it. The more recent history of the immigration of Irish RCs, the 'Irish Invasion', and news from abroad linked the older events with the current fears of a resurgent Church of Rome.

Street Meetings

Cormack's success as an orator was remarkable. His entry in *Chambers Scottish Biographical Dictionary* describes him as 'An inspirational speaker, capable of rousing audiences to ferocious action'.³⁹ The most popular venues for street meetings were the Mound in Edinburgh and the Foot of Leith Walk in Leith. Other well used venues were Simon Square and locations in the Gorgie district and at the fish market in Newhaven. The PAS made use of all of them and of access to public parks for rallies. Cormack and his principal lieutenants drew large crowds at their regular and frequent open-air meetings. There is no comprehensive record of the meetings held but it is reported that Cormack 'spoke for two hours every Sunday afternoon at the Mound for 30 years and in his heyday also held an indoor meeting at 6 pm before speaking for another two hours at the Mound in the evening'.⁴⁰ In his memoirs Cormack says he spoke 'at four open air meetings a week in different parts of Edinburgh' with two 'on the Mound on Sundays' and 'two indoor meetings each week'.⁴¹ It is clear from police reports that he held many well-attended meetings in various public halls in the city.⁴² If the police attended all of these meetings the PAS must have constituted a significant part of the work of the force.

A contemporary, George Hackland, who attended open-air meetings at which Cormack spoke, considered him a 'spellbinder' who adroitly managed his audience, whether 50-60

people at the Halley, an open area by the kipper sheds in Newhaven, or hundreds at the Mound. He recalled that the content of his speeches addressed the fundamental concerns of overwhelmingly working-class audiences, for whom unemployment and overcrowded, sub-standard housing were endemic problems. Cormack had a remedy for both and it was the same remedy he proposed for other of society's ills. As regards employment, public authority policies were pernicious. It was widely believed that only RCs could get jobs in Edinburgh Corporation's Lighting and Cleansing department. Cormack introduced this into almost every speech he made. His complaints about mismanagement of the Transport department were based on the perception that the managers were RCs and therefore favoured RCs for jobs. Every PAS meeting ended with the cry 'One Two Three – NO POPERY' in which the audience reflected the feelings stirred up by Cormack's oratory.⁴³ After his election to the council in 1934, which is discussed in the next chapter, Cormack put forward a proposal to a meeting of the Lord's Provost's Committee that the religious denomination of all employees of the corporation and of every future employee be obtained, also the departments to which they were allocated in order that only 10% of Corporation employment be given to RCs. There was no support for the proposal.⁴⁴ Cormack was undaunted. An election pledge made in *Protestant 'Action'* of 29 October 1938 was that the PAS would 'get rid of superfluous Roman Catholics in our Corporation Departments and give more employment to Good Protestants'. Earlier that year in the 5 February issue of *Protestant 'Action'* he had claimed that RCs were the indirect cause of unemployment, that there were too many in Corporation employment and that they were enabled to get houses when they should not. The PAS usually assumed that the RCs were Irish or of Irish

descent, that they were responsible for overcrowding and below standard housing, that there were too many of them and their standards were deplorably low. The solution was to send them back to the IFS. An article in *Protestant 'Action'* of 22 January 1938 claimed that IFS immigrants were getting jobs in preference to 'loyal Protestants' and asserted that, 'laws must be placed in the Statute Book prohibiting the landing on these shores of this alien race and giving powers to deport those already within the land'. A clue to what may have made these claims seem plausible is a question posed in the 11 June 1938 issue of the journal, 'Why is it that the Telephone Department seem to have a preference for Irish Labourers on their outside jobs when so many of our own people are idle'. The 'Irish' occupied in such work were highly visible as they would be in other similar corporation employment such as street sweepers, tram drivers and conductors. Their speech made their origins obvious.

There are no records of Cormack's addresses to the crowds he drew to his meetings; newspaper accounts are at best sketchy. Mr. James G. MacLean, who was good enough to give me an interview, a note of which is in Appendix 14, was a member of the PAS and a close friend of Cormack's after the 1939-45 war. He heard Cormack speak many times. At street meetings he began speaking quite quietly, raising his voice as the crowd built up. He never used amplification equipment, being able to project his voice effectively to large gatherings. Regarding criticism of Cormack's lack of formal education and deficiencies in his letter writing, Mr. MacLean agreed that this was probably justified but his oratory could not be criticised in the same way. It was fluent, well organised and very effective. In his speeches he made frequent reference to the

history of Protestantism – the Reformation, John Knox, the early martyrs, the Covenanters and the Jesuits, finding parallels in current actions of the Church of Rome, all as part of the build up to condemnation of contemporary Roman Catholicism. According to Mr MacLean it was the political influence of the RC Church that Cormack attacked so vehemently. He had no animosity for ordinary RCs.⁴⁵ Cormack's speeches appear to have followed the same pattern as the content of the party's journal, moving from the base of Protestant history through the 'Irish Invasion' to current reports of the perfidy of RCs and then to the accusation that they were responsible for unemployment and poor housing conditions, themes that found resonance particularly in Leith which, as noted in chapter 5, had high levels of unemployment throughout the 1930s and where poverty and poor housing were the common daily experience.

The Demonstrations

Cormack's extraordinary ability to get people to turn out for demonstrations was manifested on many occasions. On 24 November 1934 four hundred people attended a meeting organised by Cormack in Parliament Square, behind the High Kirk, St Giles, to honour John Knox on the occasion of the anniversary of his death. A report of the meeting in the *Edinburgh and Leith Observer (ELO)* of 30 November 1934 noted that 'there were large numbers of police on duty but the proceedings were orderly throughout'. Other commemorative gatherings like that in the Grassmarket on 25 April 1937 for the Covenanters (described below) had historical precedents as noted in chapter 2 and it is not surprising that a large crowd should be attracted for such an event in Edinburgh where there was a sense and appreciation of the history of Protestantism. The

turnout for protest at contemporary events was even greater. During 1935 there were three notable occasions for PAS-led demonstrations, the Town Council's reception for the Catholic Young Men's Society, the conferring of the freedom of the city on Joseph Lyons, the RC Prime Minister of Australia and the holding of a RC Eucharistic Congress at St Andrew's Priory in Morningside. All of these were considered by some Edinburgh people to be deliberate challenges to Protestantism in the city of John Knox.

On 19 December 1934 the Lord Provost's Committee of Edinburgh Town Council, at the request of the RC Church through its legal representative, Mr T.J. Addley, SSC, resolved to grant a civic reception to the Catholic Young Men's Society (CYMS) on the occasion of their Annual General Meeting in Edinburgh on 27 & 28 April 1935.⁴⁶ The news of this decision prompted resolutions protesting against the holding of the reception from the Scottish Protestant League, the Scottish Reformation Society and the Free Church of Scotland.⁴⁷ The PAS was fiercely opposed to the reception. On 17 April Cormack addressed a meeting of nearly 3,000 people in the Usher Hall, 'On the 27 April this peaceful, cultured enlightened city of Edinburgh, that has never known in my lifetime at least what a real smash-up means, is going to know it that day if the civic reception comes off.'⁴⁸ A police report records that on the evening of the reception 15,000 to 20,000 people converged on the High Street for the protest demonstration and some 4,000 attended a meeting at the Mound. Having had adequate warning the police had taken precautions. During the whole of the Saturday evening special protection was given to RC churches, institutions etc in the town.⁴⁹ Despite the huge turnout there were few arrests. The *Scotsman* commented:

The sectarian spirit and mere curiosity combined to draw great crowds to the vicinity of the City Chambers where the reception was held but thanks to the good sense of the majority of the spectators and the commendable tact shown by the police the tension passed without any serious developments.⁵⁰

The *Glasgow Herald* of 29 April 1935 reported that there was 'more vocal excitement than anything else'. Only two arrests were made. The Procurator Fiscal noted that the two persons were dealt with in the Police Court and were fined small sums.⁵¹ Cormack's verdict on the occasion was that it was a victory for PAS as there was, he claimed, never another reception for RCs during his time on the Council ie up to 1962.⁵²

The next large demonstration organised by PAS was against granting the freedom of the city to a RC, the Australian Premier, Joseph Lyons. At a meeting of the Council on 24 May 1935 Cormack moved against the granting of the honour but was defeated.⁵³ He warned the meeting that he would break up the ceremony and was as good as his word. The *Glasgow Herald* of 11 June 1935 reported that in the middle of the ceremony in the Usher Hall Cormack tried to address the audience. He was removed by force after refusing to leave. The disturbance lasted for ten minutes and several other people were ejected by police and stewards. Police took the names of four people. The *Scotsman* of the same date notes, 'The organ began to play thus smothering the shouts that came from various parts of the hall'. When the audience left the hall they found a few thousand

people in Lothian Road shouting 'No Popery'. A letter in the *Scotsman* uses familiar rhetoric in defence of Cormack's actions;

the real reason for Edinburgh's rising against the Church of Rome. It is neither bigotry nor intolerance; it is simply a protest (demonstrative certainly but then enthusiasm is no crime) against too much recognition by the City Fathers of members of the Church of Rome – the Church which for long centuries held our fathers in darkness... John Knox and the Reformed Faith educated and delivered our country and what we are today we owe to them.⁵⁴

Cormack recollected, 'I had an idea I had morally won another round'.⁵⁵

The high point of Cormack's achievement in galvanising street action was the occasion of the RC Eucharistic Congress on 23, 24 and 25 June 1935. In the Introduction (p. 31) we have noted Gallagher's statement that such congresses were relatively common in the 1920s and 1930s when the Church felt it necessary to mount a show of strength. The Edinburgh congress was to be the first Eucharistic Congress ever held in Scotland. Cormack was quick to organise a protest demonstration. First he wrote to the Lord Provost's Committee 'desiring that the Roman Catholic authorities should confine their Congress to their chapels, otherwise the society will demonstrate and protest as formerly'.⁵⁶ He also wrote to the Secretary of State for Scotland on 14 May 1935 accusing the RC authorities of deceit regarding the organisation of the congress, having

first announced that it was a purely local event 'for the Catholics of Edinburgh', and later disclosing that special arrangements were being made for all districts of the east of Scotland to take part and that many from Glasgow and the west would attend. Cormack declared that 'If the papists are allowed to hold a Eucharistic Congress in June, 30 or 40 thousand Protestants will know the reason why'.⁵⁷ A copy of Cormack's letter is at appendix 8. There certainly seems to have been concern among some people in Edinburgh regarding the proposed congress. So much so that the Vicar-General of the RC Church in Edinburgh, Canon M'Gittigan, in a letter published in the *Scotsman* on 7 May 1935 sought to allay fears that it was proposed 'to carry out the congress arrangements on an elaborate scale resembling those in certain great centres of the world where an international congress has been held'. On the contrary something much smaller was planned. The congress was for the Catholics of Edinburgh and would be held on church premises although there would be associated meetings in public halls. Steve Bruce in his brief reference to the event has a rather different story. He says that:

the Catholic hierarchy had arranged for a Scottish Eucharistic Congress to be held in Edinburgh. About thirty thousand Catholics were expected to collect in Canaan Lane Park, celebrate mass and then march in procession along Princes Street....On the day, between thirty-five and forty thousand Protestants encircled the park....The demonstration was a success: the procession was cancelled.⁵⁸

Bruce does not quote a source for this information. It does not accord with other reports.

There has never been a public park in Caanan Lane; perhaps he has confused with a public park the extensive grounds of St Andrew's Priory where the congress was held, and there is no mention of a proposed procession of RCs from Morningside to Princes Street in contemporary accounts. However, referring to the Congress, Gallagher speaks of 'the threat of thousands of Catholics marching down Princes Street' as partly responsible for goading Cormack into action.⁵⁹ Certainly one of Cormack's aims as we saw earlier was to ensure that there was no procession on the public thoroughfare, that the congress was confined to Church premises. As we shall see, the overwhelming response to his call for people to turn out for a counter-demonstration meant that if there was an intention for a march of RCs through the streets it would have been difficult if not impossible. There is other evidence of considerable public interest in the Congress. In a letter of 6 May 1935 to the Secretary of State, the Chief Constable of Edinburgh records that Cormack and Marr addressed meetings on the subject of the congress in the Oddfellows Hall, Forrest Road and 'so many people attempted to get into the hall that it was necessary after filling it to hold an overflow meeting in a smaller hall upstairs'.⁶⁰ The *Scotsman* 24 May 1935 reported that at the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, the Rev. Dr Alexander Stewart had said that:

there was little doubt that the efforts of the Roman Church to gain ground in Scotland were becoming bolder every day. Next month they proposed to hold a Eucharistic Congress in Edinburgh. Like many of their activities it was the first in Scotland since the Reformation.⁶¹

Dr Stewart went on to declare that there was a tremendous tide of public indignation against the activities of the Church of Rome 'in our midst'. The Procurator Fiscal, in his report of 2 August 1935 responding to the complaint by Archbishop McDonald, notes a meeting organised by the PAS in the Usher Hall on 23 June attended by nearly 3,000 persons at which Cormack called for people to turn out in their thousands at Canaan Lane where the RC ceremony was to be held at St Andrew's Priory.⁶²

The *Scotsman* of 24 June 1935 reported that on the first day of events in connection with the Congress special services were held in all RC churches in the city and in the evening a meeting was held in Waverley Market. The services took place without incident. A final column inch of print records what happened after the Waverley Market meeting. 'There was a certain amount of liveliness on Princes Street...jeering and cries of "No Popery"...Some congestion took place at the Post Office...but there was no serious disorder, and the street soon assumed its normal Sunday evening appearance'. However it was a different story for the mass meeting of RC women at the same venue on 24 June. According to Gallagher 10,000 women had been brought from all over Scotland for the meeting.⁶³ The PAS organised a demonstration on Waverley Bridge at the entrance to the hall. The *Edinburgh and Leith Observer (ELO)* of 24 June 1935 described the scene. A crowd of several thousands filled the street shouting 'No Popery' and singing 'Follow, follow, we will follow Cormack'. However the police were out in force and, although the crowd increased after the meeting closed, by 11 pm everything was as normal. There were eleven arrests in connection with this disturbance. An

editorial in the *Edinburgh Evening News* of 25 June referred to the Waverley Market demonstration by the PAS 'against what they regarded as provocative propaganda' and commented 'it would be a pity if the placidity of Edinburgh is to be disturbed, as in some other cities, by the periodic feuds and turmoils of sectarian bitterness'. The 26 June 1935 edition of the *ELO* reported that seven young men were subsequently fined £10 with the alternative of one month imprisonment.

The major PAS demonstration was reserved for the main event of the congress on 25 June. On that evening the police estimated that there were over 10,000 people present within the priory grounds. In his letter of 16 July 1935 to the Secretary of State the Archbishop says 16,000 to 20,000 catholics were in the grounds.⁶⁴ The police closed the streets approaching the Priory to through traffic and the demonstrators were not allowed to approach nearer than Morningside Road where, according to police estimates, a crowd of more than 20,000 had gathered. Cormack claimed 40,000.⁶⁵ The *Scotsman* report on 26 June 1935 says, 'Almost the entire police force of Edinburgh was drafted to the disturbed area' and that they 'had to control a crowd which stretched for three-quarters of a mile'. Despite the large numbers of people involved there was remarkably little trouble. The *Scotsman* report refers to a PAS spokesman telling the crowd in Balcarres Street that, 'Councillor Cormack's orders were that Protestants were to behave themselves in an orderly manner'. In the event six people were arrested for minor offences, four of them subsequently being fined £10 each in the Sheriff Court. Part of the charge in these cases was reported in the *Scotsman* of 27 June 1935 as 'shouting and bawling in a manner to provoke and exasperate the Roman Catholic population of

Edinburgh'. The PF's conclusion was that:

considering the number of people on the streets, and the well known feelings that exist on the matter, the amount of disturbance was actually small, if not insignificant. The Police throughout had the matter well in hand, and the crowd well under control in such a way as to prevent any really serious outbreak.⁶⁶

In his annual report for 1935 the Chief Constable had an item under 'Notable Events of the Year', 'Sectarian Demonstrations'. He cited the three principal occasions as that of the reception for the CYMS on 27 April, the mass meeting of RC women in the Waverley Market on 24 June and the demonstration on the evening of 25 June at the Eucharistic Congress in Morningside.

On each occasion very large crowds gathered and it was found necessary to employ large forces of foot police and the regular and special mounted constabulary. Several arrests were made and later the offenders, the majority of whom appeared at the Sheriff Court, were fined various sums, mostly in the region of £10. These fines appear to have had a salutary effect and it is to be hoped there will be no repetition of such demonstrations.⁶⁷

In the reports for 1936, 1937, 1938 and 1939 there is no mention of sectarian

demonstrations. Presumably those that occurred were not considered 'Notable Events'.

Cormack continued to promote street demonstrations in 1936 but none had quite the resonance of those of 1935. A report to the Chief Constable of Edinburgh dated 2 March 1936 describes a gathering of 1,000 people in George Street protesting at a meeting of the Catholic Truth Society in the Assembly Rooms on 13 February 1936. There were frequent shouts of 'No Popery' and the crowd sang sectarian songs but otherwise caused little trouble. The police kept the protesters away from the entrance to the hall and the people attending the meeting were able to leave unmolested. A priest approaching the hall had to be rescued by a policeman who got him onto a tramcar and out of harm's way. The most notable item in the report concerned a youth who was found in South St David Street suffering from a head injury which was alleged to have been inflicted by some RC youths from the Blackfriars Street area. A meeting of the Catholic Truth Society on Sunday 23 February 1936 was attended by 1,500 persons. There was no demonstration against them and no untoward incident. The report ends with a note that the Police were aware that further meetings were to be held shortly under the auspices of the Catholic Truth Society and would do everything possible to maintain law and order.⁶⁸ Later in the year Cormack was tried, fined and briefly imprisoned for inciting and taking part in a breach of the peace on the occasion of the 13 February demonstration. The trial, which lasted two days, was reported at great length in the *Scotsman* of 10 April and 15 April. Despite a string of witnesses trying to refute the charges the sheriff decided that the defence evidence had not been established and found Cormack, James Marr and John Aitchison guilty. The event, as so often happens

in such circumstances, seems to have enhanced Cormack's popularity with a section of the municipal electorate. Decreasing attention was being paid to Cormack's demonstrations but there was a reference in the news in April 1939 when the American ambassador, Joseph Kennedy, a RC, was granted the freedom of Edinburgh. Cormack staged a protest at the ceremony in the Usher Hall, which, according to the *Scotsman* of 22 April 1939, 'attracted little attention and detracted in a very slight degree from the dignity and cordiality of the proceedings'.

Covenanters Memorial Gathering

The gathering in the Grassmarket on Sunday 25 April 1937 mentioned earlier was not a demonstration against RC activities on the lines of the above reports. It was arranged for the dedication of a monument commemorating the Covenanters, erected at the spot in the Grassmarket where many of them were executed. The *Scotsman* of 26 April carried a full report. George Horne, an Independent Protestant Councillor, presided, John Cormack unveiled the stone and a Presbyterian minister, Dr Black, gave the address to a crowd of about 10,000 people. The Grassmarket Silver Band and Mr Carsewell's Covenanters Choir took part in the service. A number of youths waving green banners tried to disrupt the service. Fireworks were let off and stones and other missiles thrown. Three of the youths who got onto a rooftop to shout defiance were arrested along with three other young men. However the reporter considered that the affair was handled 'judiciously' by the police who were present in large numbers. The 27 April issue of the *Scotsman* reported that five of the six persons arrested, all of whom lived in the Grassmarket area, were fined £2 with the alternative of 14 days in prison.

Cormack's ability to get people to turn out for demonstrations was truly remarkable. As previously noted it is perhaps to be expected that there would be a large attendance at a memorial service for the Covenanters. The reason for the occasion, coupled with the presence of Cormack and his close colleagues, and the attraction of a band and choir on a Sunday when there would be few, if any, rival attractions would be a great draw. In the 1930s the Sabbath was still strictly observed in Edinburgh. Most shops were closed on Sunday as were the cinemas and theatres. But other protests, particularly those against the civic reception for the CYMS and the Eucharistic Congress, which were specifically anti-RC also brought out huge crowds. No doubt some of those attending did so because of the likely excitement of a crowd, or just out of curiosity, but that alone would not account for the support Cormack got on these occasions. E.P. Thomson says that in almost every eighteenth century crowd action there was 'some legitimising notion'.⁶⁹ The anti-RC traditions of the town provided legitimation for the crowds who turned out for Cormack. In Edinburgh, as the speaker at the Labour Party Annual Conference quoted above remarked, respectability was an important consideration. That was conferred on the PAS demonstrations because they came in the wake of the campaign by the ultra respectable Presbyterian churches for restrictions on immigration from the Irish Free State, which was so obviously aimed at RCs as brought out in chapter 4. The crowd could feel quite righteous as they made their protest.

Lack of Damage and Violence

A remarkable feature of the newspaper and police reports on the demonstrations led by

the PAS is that there is no mention of great damage to buildings, large-scale fighting or serious injury, not even when the venue was in an area regarded as RC territory such as the Grassmarket. Considering the numbers involved it indicates exceptional restraint on the part of the demonstrators, perhaps conditioned by the measures taken by the authorities. Certainly there was always ample warning well in advance of the major demonstrations and the police attended in force. The Chief Constable's organisation of the police control appears to have been effective, particularly in the handling of the great numbers involved in the demonstration on the occasion of the Eucharistic Congress. The low levels of violence and damage were a great contrast to the contemporary reports of violence and damage in sectarian riots in Belfast and Liverpool. This feature of the PAS street action was highlighted in an exchange reported in the *Scotsman* (see below). In the aftermath of the Eucharistic Congress in 1935 Father Bruce of St Peter's Church, Falcon Avenue, Edinburgh, asked priests who had taken part in the activities to let him have evidence of molestation suffered on these occasions. He received seventeen individual replies and prepared a note of five other comments.⁷⁰ Nearly all of the respondents reported verbal abuse. Eleven of the individual replies reported physical violence, none of which resulted in serious injury. Of the five items in the composite response, four reported verbal abuse and two of these also instanced physical assault, again minor, a priest's bag was kicked and a car window struck. There is no doubt that these events were frightening and the actions of some members of the crowds reprehensible, but they were scarcely to be compared with those of rioting RCs in Belfast and Liverpool.

Archbishop McDonald

Throughout the period of these disturbances the RC Archbishop of St Andrew's and Edinburgh, Andrew Joseph McDonald, was in communication with the Secretary of State for Scotland (S of S), the newspapers and MPs in a campaign aimed at the effective suppression of the PAS. Early in May 1935 he had a meeting with the Secretary of State, Sir Godfrey Collins, to discuss the trouble at the reception for the CYMS and to express his concern about the proposed Eucharistic Congress. He said that his people were being molested by PAS members who had threatened to burn down Catholic churches. They had exploded a bomb in the vicinity of the Pro-Cathedral and broken windows there and at the Archbishop's house and damaged properties of the Carmelite nuns. He finished with what might be considered a veiled threat, saying that his people had been enjoined to control themselves but if steps were not taken to prevent them from being insulted and molested he feared that a serious disturbance might take place. A note of this discussion was sent to the Chief Constable who commented, in a letter of 11 May 1935, that 'Archbishop Macdonald's remarks can only be termed exaggeration, as nothing like the state of affairs indicated by him exists'. Reports from the police divisions indicated that there had been no complaints of damage over the past ten days, except for the theft of a statue from the Carmelite Convent in Spylaw Road. A special watch had since been kept to prevent the removal of its replacement.⁷¹ The Secretary of State wrote to the Archbishop on 15 May 1935 to say that

the Chief Constable of Edinburgh has been communicated with
and you will be pleased to learn that he has indicated that as the

police are in a position to deal adequately and firmly with any situation which may arise there does not appear to be any necessity in his opinion for the Congress to be cancelled.⁷²

The Permanent Under Secretary of State (PUS of S), Sir John Jeffrey, was sufficiently concerned about the situation to arrange a meeting with the Chief Constable which took place on 18 May 1935. Sir John was briefed on the instructions given to the police for handling the crowds on the occasion of the reception for the CYMS which he considered to have been very complete. He was assured that equally complete instructions would be issued prior to the Eucharistic Congress in June. The Chief Constable also reported that special watch was being kept on Roman Catholic property to prevent its being damaged as a result of malicious mischief. As regards one of the incidents mentioned by the Archbishop, the breaking of windows in his house, the Chief Constable said that the delinquents were probably a number of Catholic boys who had confessed to throwing stones over the wall of the house but the Catholic authorities had declined to make a charge against them with a view to prosecution.⁷³ On 27 June 1935 the Archbishop had another meeting with the S of S to express his dissatisfaction with the police arrangements for preserving law and order. He was asked to put his complaint in writing, which he did on 16 July 1935. His letter first complained about the PAS anti-Catholic campaign which had 'the openly-expressed object of rousing hatred and ill-will on the part of non-Catholics towards their Catholic fellow citizens'. It then went over the complaints made at the meeting regarding the disturbances in connection with the CYMS affair and with the Eucharistic Congress on 23, 24 and 25 June, saying that:

the events of these nights – and especially what occurred on the evening of the 25th ulto. – have in my opinion justified my fear that those in authority had seriously underestimated the virulence of the feelings which had been aroused by inflammatory speeches to which I have alluded.

Nevertheless the Archbishop acknowledged that 'the police handled the situation with admirable tact and success – and it is only fair to them to say that they prevented any unauthorised person from approaching the venue of the service'. The letter noted that Defence Leagues were being formed by Catholics all over the Archdiocese and repeated the Archbishop's warning, referring to the inflammatory speeches, 'If disturbances ensue, the blame will not rest with the Catholic population... But I fear that if something is not done on the other side a breaking point may be reached, and serious consequences ensue throughout the greater part of Scotland'. He finished, 'In view of the seriousness of the situation it is my intention to send a copy of this letter to each Member of Parliament and I reserve the right eventually to publish the correspondence'.⁷⁴

Edinburgh – Belfast Contrast

In the meantime the Archbishop had already issued a statement to the press which went over the same grounds he raised with the Secretary of State. (A copy of the press statement is in Appendix 9.) It was published in the *Scotsman* on 12 July 1935, the day on which RCs in Belfast attacked an Orange procession and started riots which lasted over the weekend, resulting in at least five deaths and injuries to about seventy, while

much damage was done to property by fire, looting and general wrecking. This was the subject of an editorial in the *Scotsman*.

Altogether 12 houses were set on fire, gas brackets being torn from the wall, and the liberated gas set ablaze. Thirty-eight houses were wrecked or damaged. The rioters armed with revolvers and rifles, as well as stones and any other handy missiles, kept up an intermittent fire and of the injured no fewer than 42 are suffering from gunshot wounds.

Linking these events to disturbances in Edinburgh the editorial went on

But the point that concerns us in Edinburgh is that we do not wish Irish conditions transplanted to... the capital of Scotland.... So far little hurt has been done. The outburst of sectarian feeling has caused more surprise and irritation than actual danger or injury. But let it go no further, and let it stop absolutely. And we would say to the Roman Catholics 'Do not exaggerate this hostile feeling. Let it die down'. The recently published protest of Archbishop McDonald was very strongly worded – in our opinion much too strongly. It is felt by many fair-minded citizens that the effect will be to create abroad a false impression of the character and magnitude of the recent disturbances. That is regrettable.⁷⁵

The *Scotsman* of 20 July 1935 published a letter from the Rev. Alexander Stewart, writing as president of the Scottish Reformation Society, also taking issue with the Archbishop. After rebuking him for the use of intemperate language he went on to say that the Archbishop's version of events was 'highly exaggerated' and asked whether the Archbishop and his co-religionists were blameless.

Is it not true, rather, that their actions for some time past have been of a distinctly provocative character. Scotland, after all, is a Protestant country, and Roman Catholics who live within its borders, in the enjoyment of a religious freedom which is scarcely known in lands where their own faith is in the ascendancy, ought surely to have regard for the convictions and susceptibilities of the people among whom they dwell. Instead of this, they have been deliberately thrusting the distinctive ceremonies of their religion under the eyes of the Protestant community, and loudly proclaiming the fact that each successive step in the development of their propagandist activity is 'the first of its kind since the Reformation'. By so doing they have simply been inviting trouble, and must take their full share of blame for the result.

Rev. Stewart then went on to appeal to history and to refer to the Belfast riots.

It does not lie with Archbishop McDonald or any other

representative of the community to which he belongs to raise a bitter cry to heaven on account of alleged wrongs endured through religious persecution. The Church of Rome has a history in that dark line of things which Scotsmen have not entirely forgotten... Who, by the way, began the rioting which is still going on in Belfast, in which already seven people – six Protestants – have been killed and scores of others are lying wounded in hospital?On the question of persecution it is always advisable for Roman Catholics to remain discreetly silent.⁷⁶

The Rev. Mr Stewart was not alone in claiming the PAS actions as counter-demonstrations. The Procurator Fiscal in his report of 2 August 1935 describes John Cormack as the 'Leader of the Counter Demonstrations referred to in the File'.⁷⁷

On 8 August 1935 the Scottish Office replied to the Archbishop's letter of 16 July 1935 saying *inter alia*:

From enquiries which he has made the Secretary of State understands that, while certain disturbances took place on these occasions, order was on the whole well maintained by the police, that a number of persons were arrested and that prosecutions took place wherever the evidence justified this course.

There is an internal minute dated 3 August 1935 on the file by the Lord Advocate saying that no case had been reported which would justify a prosecution for incitement to violence. He went on: 'While on the whole order was well maintained by the police certain "clashes" took place, but these cannot altogether be laid to the blame of persons of one religious persuasion....The Archbishop's letter is considerably exaggerated'.⁷⁸

A copy of the Archbishop's letter and the Scottish Office reply had been sent to the Town Clerk, whose deputy responded by letter on 27 September 1935 saying:

Lord Provost and magistrates and the Criminal Authorities are satisfied that everything possible was done to meet the situation created by the disturbances on the occasion of the Civic Reception to the Catholic Young Men's Society and the Eucharistic Congress. The fact that disturbances were likely to take place was fully appreciated and steps considered adequate were taken in advance to deal with any situation that might emerge. The view is held that the late sectarian strife is subsiding and that the less public notice taken of it the sooner it will finish. The situation is not helped by certain communications which have been sent to the press. The authorities are quite satisfied that they have the situation well in hand.⁷⁹

The views of the PF noted earlier and here of the city fathers, that a reduction in publicity would help end the problems posed by Cormack and the PAS, are consistent with the central government endeavour to deal with a similar but larger problem. Roger Eatwell claims that in 1934, 'the government sent covert instructions to the media requesting that they starve the BUF of publicity'.⁸⁰

On 6 August 1935 the *Times* published an item by its representative in Edinburgh saying that reports of sectarian trouble in the city had been exaggerated in newspapers, particularly on the Continent. It commented, 'the one or two street fights that have taken place have been over in a matter of minutes and the police are not inclined to take the affairs seriously in view of the type of person involved'. Describing the demonstration on the occasion of the Eucharistic Congress it says, 'the passive crowd was composed mainly of curious spectators and nothing serious occurred'. The Archbishop's response, a long letter, was published in the *Times* on 19 August. He took issue with the report, saying 'the evidence of this (sectarian) feeling was first thrust upon public notice, not by brawls in poorer areas, but by tumult around the City Chambers in the High Street - outside the RC Cathedral - at the freedom ceremony for Joseph Lyons and at Waverley Bridge and in Morningside (a residential suburb)'. He concluded, 'Catholics have, as acknowledged by the *Scotsman*, borne themselves with commendable restraint, but the campaign of incitement which caused these outbursts still continues and may well result in a repetition of these disgraceful scenes'.

The date of publication of the Archbishop's letter to the *Scotsman* appears to be

unfortunate yet it seems unlikely that he was unaware of the significance of 12 July, perhaps the most important date in the Orange calendar. Given the history of rioting in Ulster on that anniversary it was inevitable that his letter would immediately be set against reports of RC riots in Belfast. The contrast between the events in Edinburgh and Belfast made his comments and the language in which he made them seem exaggerated even to those like the *Scotsman* who sympathised with him. He was also, for whatever reason, giving even greater publicity to the PAS and its activities at a time when the Government and the local authority in Edinburgh were trying to minimise the effects of Cormack's campaigns by giving them as low a profile as possible. When it is taken in conjunction with the reference in his letter of 16 July 1935 to the Secretary of State, mentioned above, to 'a breaking point' and 'serious consequences....throughout the greater part of Scotland', one interpretation of the timing of the Archbishop's letter to the *Scotsman* might be that it was implicit warning that Ulster style rioting could result from the PAS campaigns if RCs were provoked into retaliation. Unfortunately there is no background information on what, if any, internal discussions took place within the archdiocese on this correspondence and any conclusions on it must be speculative.

Action by RC Members of Parliament

RC Members of Parliament had been active too. On 13 May 1935 Dr William James O'Donovan, MP for the Mile End Division of Stepney in London, raised a parliamentary question to the S of S asking whether reports had been received of speeches made at a public meeting in Edinburgh 'of a nature calculated to cause a breach of the peace' and of the disorder on the occasion of the civic reception for the CYMS on 27 April. The S of

S replied that he had particulars of the meeting of the PAS and of the demonstration. Although there were a few incidents leading to arrests, there was no serious disorder.⁸¹ Alfred Denville, MP for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Central, describing himself as secretary of the RC group of MPs, wrote to the S of S on 22 May 1935 warning of the danger of PAS activities. He wrote again on 24 May 1935 enclosing a letter from James Conlon, a member of staff of the *Catholic Herald*, with a cutting from the *Edinburgh Evening News* reporting a meeting on Calton Hill attended by several thousands at which Cormack threatened to invade the grounds where the Eucharistic Congress was to be held and to stage a demonstration at the ceremony for Joseph Lyons. In a further letter of 31 May 1935 to the S of S, Denville enclosed a note from Conlon with a press cutting reporting a death at Barnton in Edinburgh resulting from a sectarian argument.⁸² In his annual report for 1935 the Chief Constable reported on the aftermath of this case noting that a young ploughman who had struck another man 'a blow with his fist causing him to fall to the ground whereby he was so severely injured that he died', was found not guilty of culpable homicide at the Sheriff Court.⁸³

George Mathers, MP for West Lothian, wrote to the Secretary of State for Scotland on 31 May 1935 questioning whether the Edinburgh authorities were doing enough to protect people on the occasions of PAS demonstrations. He quoted criticism that if those who caused the trouble were RCs or Communists they would get short shrift.⁸⁴ There was a break in this correspondence but Mathers wrote again to the S of S on 24 February 1936 enclosing a cutting from the *West Lothian Advertiser* about a meeting of the Scottish Lourdes Society in the Music Hall, George Street and asking whether he

considered 'the steps taken by the Edinburgh Corporation are adequate to protect peaceable people' and 'whether you have any intention of using such powers as you possess to improve the position'. The newspaper report indicated that the police had everything under control. The Secretary of State replied on 3 March 1936.

While the preservation of law and order in the City is a matter for the magistrates and the police, I took the occasion some time ago to make enquiries about some of these disturbances and was assured that the authorities have the situation well in hand. I am keeping the matter under observation. I may add that the position is also being closely watched by the Criminal Authorities.⁸⁵

In a letter dated 27 February 1936 to the U S of S the Lord Advocate, T.M. Cooper, says he has received representations from 'the high dignitaries of the RC Church in Scotland' regarding the recent sectarian disorders and the fears they entertained of serious trouble in connection with RC meetings to take place early in March. The RC view was that the police were 'less active and vigilant than the circumstances require'. The Lord Advocate commented that 'arrests had been extraordinarily few' and suggested a hint be dropped that 'firm handling is desirable if this most reprehensible and prolonged interference with law and order is to be put down'. The letter is annotated, 'Mr Stewart, To drop a hint to the Chief Constable as was arranged at our meeting with the Lord Advocate yesterday'. A confidential letter was sent to the Chief Constable anent the RC meetings to be held in March and saying, 'In view of past disturbances....you will no doubt take whatever steps may be necessary to ensure that law and order are firmly maintained in the city'.⁸⁶ Mr

Ralph Rae Matheson wrote to the Home Secretary on 30 March 1936 noting with satisfaction a statement made in the House of Commons regarding Jew baiting and asking if the determination to 'stamp out this dastardly practice' would be extended to his co-religionists in Edinburgh where priests and nuns had been insulted and attacked and 'a constable who went to a priest's assistance was rendered unfit for duty'.⁸⁷ There is no mention of this in the police reports.

These efforts by Roman Catholic MPs, the RC hierarchy in Scotland and others to persuade the authorities to take action against the PAS give the impression of a co-ordinated campaign in support of Archbishop MacDonald's attempts to have Cormack officially suppressed. Given the policy referred to above of the Scottish Office and the Edinburgh local authorities to play down PAS activity it had little chance of success.

The Fading PAS

With the virtual eclipse of the PAS politically from 1937, which is dealt with in the following chapter, there was a great falling off in complaints about Cormack. Certainly the PAS was less publicly engaged on the streets in 1938 and 1939 and there were no significant newspaper reports of the party's activities but there was still fear of disturbance if a public RC event was held. In a letter of 27 May 1937 to the clergy of the archdiocese Archbishop McDonald noted that 'in connection with the Feast of Corpus Christi, the Canon Law 'enjoined 'a public celebration'. He went on to say 'it does not seem advisable at present to have a public demonstration on the streets such as is visualised by the Legislation of the Church' and that he had decided instead to have a

Eucharistic Triduum within the Cathedral.⁸⁸ In the letter the Archbishop did not enlarge on the reasons for his decision nor is there a record of any discussion of the matter in the Scottish Catholic Archives but it does seem that he was tacitly acknowledging the part his actions had played in the earlier disturbances. However on 10 April 1940 the Archbishop again raised the issue. He wrote to the Under Secretary of State (U S of S), Captain McEwen, regarding the proposed visit of the Papal Delegate, Archbishop Godfrey, to Edinburgh and the intention to hold a meeting in the Usher Hall. Although he did not anticipate trouble of any kind, his purpose in writing was to alert the authorities to possible attempts at disruption. Captain McEwen, after consulting the Chief Constable, replied on 26 April 1940 that no trouble was expected but adequate arrangements would be made to cope with any disturbance.⁸⁹ The *Scotsman* of 6 May 1940 makes no mention of trouble when reporting Archbishop Godfrey's visit to preach at the RC cathedral. It may be significant that the Archbishop chose to address the U S of S in this instance as he had gone directly to the S of S previously. Captain McEwen, who was appointed to the Scottish Office in 1936, was an RC activist who contributed a column to *The Tablet*, the international RC weekly and might be expected to give the Archbishop a more sympathetic hearing.

On 25 June 1940 the Archbishop wrote to the S of S saying:

a deliberate attempt to resurrect the sectarian trouble, which caused such serious difficulties some years ago, is being again made in Edinburgh. Cormack openly incites to violence against Catholics in public speeches. He advises his hearers in the case

of a German invasion first to bayonet the Catholics before paying attention to the invaders'.

He went on to blame Cormack for anti-Italian rioting which had occurred a few days before and claimed that the police would corroborate the information which had come to him from various reliable sources. The Chief Constable, asked to comment on the Archbishop's letter, responded that there was nothing to substantiate the claim that efforts were being made to resuscitate sectarian trouble 'other than John Cormack's usual campaign which did not seem to have the same hold as previously'. Cormack had been reported to the Procurator Fiscal for saying at two public meetings that when Protestants went over the top with RCs they should shoot them but no action had been taken. There was no evidence that Cormack had been behind the rioting when Italy entered the war. A minute on the file dated 4 July 1940 suggests that there was no substance in the Archbishop's complaint except that regarding Cormack's words about shooting RCs. It goes on to say 'the Police regularly report on Protestant Action meetings but neither in these reports nor in the Fortnightly Intelligence Reports have they indicated any rising tide of sectarian strife or friction in the city'. On 1 August 1940 the S of S, Ernest Brown, replied to the Archbishop saying that there was no evidence that the position regarding sectarian trouble was becoming acute or that there was serious friction in the city.⁹⁰ It does seem that by this time the internal problems of the PAS, its diminished success at the polls, and lack of publicity coupled with the advent of war in 1939 had removed Cormack's ability to foment any sort of trouble.

Demonstration – Counter Demonstration

The disturbances of the 1930s in Edinburgh were seen by some people as a matter of confrontation – RC demonstration and Protestant counter-demonstration. To them it seemed that Archbishop McDonald deliberately raised the profile of his Church in the city in a mood of triumphalism. In an area of Scotland with a very small minority population of RCs he organised what Gallagher categorises as 'a show of strength' (Introduction, p. 31), the Eucharistic Congress, perhaps the most spectacular demonstration of his faith seen in Scotland up to that time and did so in the most Presbyterian of cities. Referring to Cormack's part in the 1938 gathering in the Grassmarket to commemorate the Covenanters, Gallagher says that it is a tactic of many authoritarian leaders to demonstrate their power by penetrating the territory of the opposition.⁹¹ To the PAS and others it seemed that Archbishop McDonald was doing just that in Edinburgh. For some of those who were charged with keeping the peace or reporting responsibly on events it seemed that he tried to take advantage from the situations he created by exaggerating the extent of the troubles arising. For the Archbishop, Cormack may have been merely a pawn in the greater game of improving the position of the RC Church in Scotland. It is notable that the violence expressed in Cormack's speeches was not reflected in the street demonstrations. The 'smash up' which he prophesied for the occasion of the CYMS civic reception did not materialise. The violence seems to have been in the words, not the actions.

The authorities, national and local, in Edinburgh had adopted the British government's tactic in dealing with the BUF as their method of minimising the effect of the PAS and

appear to have been supported by the local press which, as we have seen from the items quoted from *Protestant 'Action'*, by failing to give advance notice of PAS organised events or to publish its letters, did not give the publicity to the society which it sought. The official policy appears to have been successful. Directly clashing with the PAS, particularly any attempt to ban the party, might have had the effect of giving greater importance and vastly increased publicity to its campaigns. The one prosecution of Cormack and his chief lieutenant seems to have had the effect of enhancing their standing with part of the electorate. Edinburgh's police court appears to have taken seriously the breach of peace cases arising from demonstrations, remitting some of them to the Sheriff Court where punishments could be more severe. Gallagher's contention, mentioned in the Introduction, that 'no major Edinburgh institution....took a major stand against Cormack or consistently sought to deflect public attention away from him',⁹² seems to be unjustified. The authorities local and national, while following their policy of allowing freedom of expression, gave considerable attention to the situation. The police kept the PAS under surveillance and made effective arrangements to control the demonstrations; the authorities and the press appear to have been at one to deny the publicity that the PF considered necessary to any success the PAS might have.

It is appropriate, here, to acknowledge the importance to the PAS of the use of history to legitimise the anti-RC campaign. The frequent references to massacres, to the early martyrs and the Covenanters, linking their fates to contemporary reports of modern atrocities blamed on RCs, assumed a knowledge among the electorate of these historical events and acceptance of that version of them set out in chapter 2. Equally, the anti-Irish

RC aspect of the party's policy, the demands for a curb on immigration from the Irish Free State, was a continuum of the nineteenth century Presbyterian perception of the Irish-RC immigrants as pernicious, and relied on folk memory of the 'Irish Invasion' and its adverse consequences described in chapter 3 for justification and acceptance by the electorate. The use of a popular version of Protestant history had been a consistent part of anti-Roman Catholicism in Scotland since the sixteenth century and was essential to the PAS case for establishing itself as an enduring part of that tradition. This is an aspect of the story of the PAS and Edinburgh in the 1930s to which neither Bruce in *No Pope of Rome* nor Gallagher in *Edinburgh Divided* gives adequate attention. The history was a prerequisite in the PAS appeal for support, giving legitimacy and respectability to the party's policy which Cormack summed up as the centuries old cry of 'No Popery'.

These activities, the journal, the pamphlets, the demonstrations were the background to the remarkable electoral campaigns fought by the PAS which are dealt with in the following chapter.

Notes to Chapter 6

- 1 Callum G. Brown and Jayne D. Stephenson discuss the importance and social control aspect of respectability in "'Sprouting Wings?': Women and Religion in Scotland 1890-1950", in *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society 1800-1945*, eds Esther Breitenbach and Eleanor Gordon (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 95-120.
- 2 Callum G. Brown in chapter 7, 'Religion in the Secular Century' in *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London, 1987), pp. 209-248, and A.H. Dunnet in chapter 5 of *Studies in Scottish Economic and Social History No. 3: The People in the Pews, Religion and Society in Scotland since 1780* (Glasgow, 1993), pp. 38-45, consider the evidence for the decline. Gordon Donaldson in chapter 8 of *The Faith of the Scots* (London, 1990), pp. 138-147, discusses the secularisation of Scottish society in the twentieth century. Christopher

Harvie argues that 'a relatively sudden loss of interest in religion....between about 1906 and 1912 underlay the transfer (of enthusiasm) from religion to politics'. 'Before the Breakthrough 1886-1922' in *FORWARD! Labour Politics in Scotland 1888-1988*, pp. 7-29, (p. 19).

- 3 Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh, 1997), p. 61.
- 4 *Ibid.*, figure 5, p. 63.
- 5 The Labour Party Annual Conference, Edinburgh, 1936, p. 27.
- 6 Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with the legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly, 1923, Report of the Committee on Irish Immigration and the Education (S) Act 1918, p. 750.
- 7 NAS, HH 1/537 – 574.
- 8 Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society 1871-1971* (London, 1988), p. 58.
- 9 F.W.S. Craig, ed., *British Parliamentary Results 1918-1949* (Glasgow, 1969), p.607.
- 10 Gallagher, *Glasgow*, p. 156-157. The letter is in box 3 of Catholic Union files, Glasgow Archdiocesan Archives.
- 11 There are short biographical notes on Cormack in *Chambers Scottish Biographical Dictionary* (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 94-95 and *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland. The City of Edinburgh* (Glasgow, 1966), pp. 314-315.
- 12 Cormack's memoirs, 'My Hectic Life' were published in the *Protestant Telegraph* in instalments on the 11 January 1969, 25 January 1969, 8 February 1969 and 22 February 1969.
- 13 NAS, HH 1/777, SO file 5415/131.
- 14 *Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge Committee*, 3rd November, 1934, p. 9, item 14.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 1st December, 1934, pp. 17-18, item 4.
- 16 *Report of Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland* 12th December, 1936 and 13th June, 1937, p. 22.

- 17 *Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge Committee*, 5 February 1938, p. 21, item 9 and 6 August 1938, p. 77, item 12.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 2nd April 1938, p. 38, item 19.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 7th May, 1938, p. 45, item 5.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 3rd February, 1940, pp. 214-215, item 7.
- 21 *Protestant 'Action'*, 8 July, 1939.
- 22 Mr McCracken, a former Deputy Grand Master of the Order, who was researching the history of the Orange Order in Scotland, was still compiling these figures at the time of my enquiries but was good enough to let me have those quoted before completion of his study.
- 23 'My Hectic Life', 11 January 1969.
- 24 'My Hectic Life', 11 January 1969.
- 25 *Monthly Letter of the Protestant Alliance with which is associated the Scottish Protestant Alliance*, April 1889, p. 3.
- 26 *Ibid.*, Index.
- 27 Jean-Guy Vaillancourt traces the development of Catholic Action in *Papal Power: A Study of the Vatican Control over Lay Catholic Elites* (London, 1980), chapter II, 'The Papacy and the Origins of the Lay Movement', pp. 19-59. Cliff Williamson discusses this aspect of Roman Catholicism in Scotland in an article, 'An Antidote to Communism: Catholic Social Action in Glasgow 1931-1939', in *Out of the Ghetto? The Catholic Community in Modern Scotland*, edited by Raymond Boyle and Peter Lynch (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 11-41.
- 28 Raymond Boyle, 'Crisis? What Crisis? The Catholic Church and the Secular Press in Scotland', in *Out of the Ghetto?* pp. 118-141, (p. 7).
- 29 Gallagher, *Glasgow*, p. 192.
- 30 Copies are held in the Edinburgh Room of Edinburgh Central Library.
- 31 *Protestant 'Action'*, 29 April 1939.
- 32 John Hungerford Pollen, *Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots during her reign in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1901), p. 187.

- 33 *Protestant 'Action'*, 19 February 1938.
- 34 Thomas De Witt Talmage was a Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian minister (1832 – 1902) in the United States of America. His sermons were published in 3,500 newspapers throughout the English speaking world. His biography is at pp. 286-7 of *American National Biography*, vol. 21 (New York, 1999).
- 35 *Protestant 'Action'*, 22 July 1939.
- 36 *Protestant 'Action'*, 16 September 1939.
- 37 The journals quoted – *The Freethinker*, *Masonic Journal*, Los Angeles, *Monthly Record of the Protestant Evangelical Mission*, *The Nation of New Zealand*, *New York Enquirer*, *Protestant Action*, Canada, *Protestant Digest*, Boston, USA, *Protestant Times*, Liverpool, *Protestant World*, Australia, *The Reformer*, *Ulster Protestant*, *Vigilant*.
- 38 *Protestant 'Action'*, 4 February 1939.
- 39 *Chambers Scottish Biographical Dictionary* (Edinburgh, 1992), ed. Rosemary Goring, pp. 94-5.
- 40 *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland*, *The City of Edinburgh*, ed. David Keir (Glasgow, 1966), pp. 314-315.
- 41 'My Hectic Life', 22 February 1969.
- 42 NAS HH55/673, SO File 35300/13.
- 43 I am indebted to George Hackland, member of the committee of the Living Memory Association in Edinburgh for this and the following material regarding Cormack's effectiveness as an orator.
- 44 *Edinburgh Town Council, Lord Provost's Committee Minutes 1934-5*, Meeting 19 December 1934, p. 265.
- 45 Interview with Mr J.G. MacLean.
- 46 *Edinburgh Town Council, Lord Provost's Committee Minutes, 1934-35*, p. 63.
- 47 *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 178 & 267.
- 48 NAS, HH 55/677, SO file 35300/13E.
- 49 NAS, HH 55/676, file SO 35300/13D.

- 50 *Scotsman*, 29 April 1935.
- 51 NAS, HH 1/777, file SO 5415/131.
- 52 'My Hectic Life', 25 January 1969.
- 53 *Edinburgh Town Council Meeting, Minutes 24 May 1935*, p. 436.
- 54 *Scotsman*, 12 June 1935.
- 55 'My Hectic Life', 25 January 1969.
- 56 *Edinburgh Town Council, Lord Provost Committee Minutes, 1934-35, Minutes of the Watching Sub-Committee, 22 May 1935*, p. 301.
- 57 NAS, HH 1/777, SO file 35300/13E.
- 58 Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*, p. 89.
- 59 Gallagher, *Edinburgh*, p. 64.
- 60 NAS, HH 55/677, SO file 35300/13E.
- 61 *Scotsman*, 24 May 1935.
- 62 NAS, HH 1/777, SO file 5415/131,.
- 63 Gallagher, *Edinburgh*, p. 50.
- 64 NAS, HH 1/777, SO file 4515/131.
- 65 'My Hectic Life', 8 February 1969.
- 66 NAS, HH1/777, SO file 5415/131.
- 67 *Report on the State of Crime and the Police Establishment of the County of the City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh, 1935*, p. 25.
- 68 NAS, HH1/777, SO file 5415/133.
- 69 E.P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present. A journal of historical studies*, 50 (1971), 76-136 (p. 78).
- 70 Scottish Catholic Archives, DE 162/51 & 52.

- 71 NAS, HH55/677, SO file 35300/13E.
- 72 NAS, HH55/677, SO file 35300/13E.
- 73 NAS, HH55/677, SO file 35300/1.
- 74 NAS, HH1/777, SO file 5415/131.
- 75 *Scotsman*, 15 July 1935.
- 76 *Scotsman*, 20 July 1935.
- 77 NAS, HH1/777, SO file 5415/131.
- 78 NAS, HH1/777, SO file 5415/131.
- 79 NAS, HH1/777, SO file 5415/131.
- 80 Roger Eatwell, *Fascism: A History* (London, 1996), p. 185.
- 81 *House of Commons Hansard*, Vol. 301, cols 1383-4.
- 82 NAS, HH1/777, SO file 5415/131.
- 83 *Report on the State of Crime and the Police Establishment of the County of the City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh, 1935*, p. 14.
- 84 NAS, HH1/777, SO file 4515/131.
- 85 NAS, HH1/777, SO file 5415/133.
- 86 NAS, HH1/777, SO file 5415/133.
- 87 NAS, HH1/777, SO file 5415/133.
- 88 Scottish Catholic Archives, DE 32/9.
- 89 NAS, HH1/777, SO file 5415/133.
- 90 NAS, HH1/777, SO file 5415/133.
- 91 Gallagher, *Glasgow*, p. 162.
- 92 Gallagher, *Edinburgh*, p. 187.

Chapter 7

The Political Campaigns – Spectacular success and steep decline

The previous chapter considered how Cormack and the PAS used religious history and its echoes in current developments involved in what were considered by some to be determined attempts by the Roman Church to gain political dominance in Britain and the Commonwealth countries. It also examined what could be described as a political struggle between Cormack and the RC authorities in Edinburgh. This chapter considers the PAS bid for formal political power, its early successes and the reason for its ultimate failure. It seeks also to link the brief success of the party to the social and economic conditions of Edinburgh and particularly Leith in the 1930s.

Successful Political Debut

Cormack’s electoral campaigns were equally as exciting for Edinburgh as the anti-RC demonstrations. Indeed the demonstrations might legitimately be regarded as part of the electoral campaigns. Only a year after the party was set up the PAS contested three seats in the 1934 municipal election at which the proportion of the Edinburgh electorate voting increased from 36% in the previous year to 40%. The results for the wards in which the PAS had candidates were:

North Leith	J. Cormack	PAS	2,054
	A.H.A. Murray	Moderate	1,819
	W. Johnstone	Socialist	1,140
		Majority	235

West Leith	E. Walker	Moderate	2,485
	D. Dryburgh	Socialist	1,643
	J. Aitchison	PAS	1,246
		Majority	842
Newington (2 seats)	T. Sawyer	Moderate	3,952
	G. Hay	Moderate	3,904
	D. Sharp	Moderate	2,066
	J. Mitchell	PAS	1,537
	T.A. Gowling	Socialist	1,152
		Majorities	1,886 & 1,838

In North Leith, where Cormack was successful, there was a 58.4% turnout, well above the average of 40% for the city and the 31.6% for the ward in the previous year. It was a clear and notable victory as he defeated by 235 votes a leading member of the ruling Moderate Party, Andrew H.A. Murray, who was later to serve as Lord Provost.¹ The Socialist candidate was a poor third. The other two PAS candidates were well beaten in West Leith and Newington wards where the turnouts were respectively 49.6% and 48.2%.² In 1933 the turnout for West Leith was 41.8%. There was no contest in Newington that year.³ The PAS presence appears to have created increased interest among the electorate. The turnout for the ward in which Cormack himself was standing was remarkable, close on double that of the previous year. An editorial in the edition of the *Scotsman* which published these results, commented, 'North Leith returned a

Protestant Action Society candidate – incidentally the first person to be elected in Edinburgh on a sectarian issue'.⁴ Perhaps the editor meant to refer only to municipal elections but in the broader field he ignored the General Election success of Mr Charles Cowan, the 'Anti-Maynooth' candidate in 1847. Cormack's success at his first attempt was very encouraging for the party. Significantly it was secured in a ward with some of the worst housing conditions in the city and in a part of Edinburgh, the port of Leith, where unemployment remained unbearably high. He was perhaps reaping the harvest of resentment at these conditions.

The same *Scotsman* editorial also commented, 'As was feared the Socialists have made considerable inroads on the Moderates' control of municipal affairs in Scotland. This political element in local elections is a comparative innovation...'.⁵ This idea, myth really, of non-political representation in municipal government may have persisted longer in Edinburgh than elsewhere. It was not until 1974 that the Progressive Party in Edinburgh acknowledged its national political connections and merged with the local Conservative Party. But the tradition of 'non-political' representation aided independent candidates who figured frequently and sometimes successfully in Edinburgh municipal elections and was probably advantageous to the PAS when its candidates entered the lists. They could be considered independent of any national political party, true representatives of the Edinburgh electorate, seeking to improve local administration by attending to what they saw as problems in the city and locating the party in the mainstream of the history of the city and its people.

The PAS ability to enthuse the electors was again evident in 1935 when Cormack's chief lieutenant, James Marr, won a by-election on 2 April in South Leith ward. His slogan for the election campaign was 'Marr Advancing. Rome Retiring' and it seems to have been effective. The election, with a turnout of 54%, was keenly fought as the figures show.

James Marr	PAS	1418
Mrs B. Woodburn	Socialist	1194
D. Sharp	Moderate	880
H.I. Tait	International Socialist	12
	Majority	222

The *Scotsman* in reporting the result said, 'the poll on this occasion is the largest in Central Leith since 1927'.⁶ It was a popular success and the *Edinburgh and Leith Observer* reported a late night gathering of around 3,000 people at the foot of Leith Walk to celebrate, noting that 'a large number of police attended'.⁷ This is evidence of the close attention that the police paid to the PAS. There was little trouble. Two men were arrested, a student heckler and a drunk man who fought him. The latter was fined £1 and the student was admonished at the burgh court on 3rd April.⁸

The 1935 municipal election was held immediately before the parliamentary election of that year and to some extent was overshadowed by it. In Scotland, the Labour Party made a comeback, increasing its number of MPs from seven to twenty but Conservatives and their allies remained firmly in control with forty-six seats out of seventy-one.⁹

Nevertheless the Edinburgh municipal campaign was lively. The 31 October 1935 edition of the *Edinburgh Evening News* quoted from a pamphlet issued by the PAS candidate in Dalry ward. It was headed, 'The Protestant's David fights the Papist Goliath', and it urged the electors to 'arise and sweep from office the Roman Catholic and Pro-Roman Catholic administrators'. It also quoted from the PAS manifesto.

Other candidates have special planks in their party programmes such as housing, health etc. We have only one plank. It is a comprehensive one. Whenever in the political life of our country municipal or national the Papist beast shows its head we must crush it or at least keep it in subjection.¹⁰

On the eve of the election, the *Edinburgh Evening News* leader writer noted, 'Leith and Broughton have been among the principal storm centres, and the loud slogan has been, "No Popery"'. It was also observed that 'the commotion over Roman Catholicism and schools has been coupled with economic bitterness',¹¹ a recognition of the underlying social conditions in which the PAS found its success. On the day of the election, the same paper printed a contribution from the Rev. Percival Prescott on the PAS manifesto. After commenting on the proposals for civic improvement he concluded, 'in addition, they put forward something which since the sixteenth century has given progress and improvement and civil and religious liberty to all sections of the community – the Reformed faith and Protestant principles'.¹² An appeal to that version of history set out in chapter 2 of this thesis was obviously considered not only appropriate but telling. It is an indication of the importance placed on history by Protestant activists, and of an

assumption that the majority of the population shared their view of that history and would respond positively. It is also in the tradition of Protestant rhetoric, that history showed Protestantism in a favourable light.

Other Anti-RC Candidates

In the 1935 Edinburgh municipal elections there were ten Protestant candidates, five for PAS, two Protestant Parents, one Protestant Defender, one Protestant Progressive and one Independent Protestant, all standing in predominantly working class wards. The Protestant Progressive Society was set up in Edinburgh in September 1934 but little is known of the organisation or of the Protestant Parents and Protestant Defenders. These groups had originated in the recent protests against premises in non-denominational schools in Leith, Lochend Road and Leith Academy, being used for RC pupils. The Protestant Parents and Protestant Defenders contested only the 1935 election and appear to have ceased to exist shortly afterwards. The Protestant Progressives put forward a candidate for Dalry ward in the 1936 and 1937 municipal elections but not for 1938. Independent candidates were a feature of Edinburgh municipal politics and like G. M. Horne, the Independent Protestant in South Leith ward, sometimes got significant support. There was clearly considerable controversy over the use of non-denominational school premises for RC children. When the PAS held a protest meeting of parents in Leith Town Hall so many people wanted to attend that an overflow meeting was held outside the hall.¹³ The Town Council decided to continue the use of the premises by RC pupils and the issue came to dominate municipal politics in some wards at the 1935 election. Despite the participation of all these Protestant organisations only

one Protestant candidate was elected, George M. Horne, Independent Protestant, winning in the South Leith ward with PAS support, and bringing the total number of councillors elected on a Protestant ticket to three. Other Protestant candidates did well despite losing, one by only four votes in Dalry Ward. Of the 77,476 votes cast, the Protestant parties won 18,109 or 23.4% of the total. The overall turnout for the election was 49.53% well up on the 40% of 1934. In four of the five wards contested by PAS turnout exceeded the city figure, in Canongate 54.04%, St Leonards 53.17%, Central Leith 63.26% and North Leith 63.9%. Only in the fifth ward, Gorgie, was it lower at 42.07%.¹⁴ The party was continuing to stimulate interest in local politics.

1936 The Peak Year

By 1936 the PAS had gained valuable experience of electioneering and knew where its electoral support lay. The party had also become better known due to its activities in election campaigns and demonstrations, the latter particularly having made manifest the appeal of its policies by the strength of support in the city. Perhaps because of this there was also an accession of more prominent people willing to be candidates. Mrs Esta Henry, the well known and respected owner of an antique shop in the Canongate, a Jew, was welcomed for the personal vote she was likely to get in her home ward although she had contested it unsuccessfully for the Progressives in 1935. The anomaly of a Jew representing a Protestant party seems to have caused no problem for Cormack, perhaps because the Jews also suffered persecution by RCs. The Rev. J. C. Trainer, a prominent social worker in the city, William Dunlop, a Leith coal merchant and George Ballantine, a retired army officer were other recruits who proved to be strong contenders. They

joined Cormack himself and Jimmy Marr as effective platform speakers and were valuable, albeit temporary, assets to the party.

On the day of the 1936 municipal election the *Scotsman*, referring to the PAS candidates said, 'This importation of a religious issue, and that, too, of a prejudiced and bitter sort, into municipal life is much to be deprecated, and it is to be hoped that the movement will get no further encouragement from the electorate'.¹⁵ It proved to be a vain hope. Cormack set out his party's credo in a statement published in the *Edinburgh Evening News* on the eve of the election.

In the Protestant Action manifesto now in the electors' possession, there are schemes and suggestions which are both businesslike and visionary for the better working of Edinburgh and for the upholding and protection of our Protestant interests. We are the only party who state definitely that we are out to look after the welfare of Protestantism and this constitutes the difference between us and the other parties. As regards the statement that our only programme is hatred to Roman Catholics let me nail this misleading statement right away. We are supremely concerned with the maintenance of our Protestant constitution and everyone will admit that this constitution with its safeguards for the Protestant people has been seriously tampered with.¹⁶

The *Scotsman* editorial quoted above also commented on turnout for elections.

Too frequently the results of local elections reflect the views not of a majority but only of a minority of the electorate. If the apathy of the average elector could be overcome....there would be much less risk of active minorities securing a much larger representation than they are properly entitled to.¹⁷

As we have seen the proportion of the electorate voting in wards where PAS candidates stood increased over previous years and usually exceeded 50%. In 1936 the party continued to enthuse the electorate. Seven parties and two independent candidates contested the election in which 49.3% of the electorate voted. The overall result was:

Edinburgh Municipal Election 1936¹⁸

	Votes	Seats	Votes per seat
Progressives	41,652	8	5,207
Socialist	32,508	5	6,502
PAS	32,480	6	5,413
Independents	3,829	1	3,829
Protestant Progressive	2,522	-	-
Tenants Association	479	-	-
Independent Labour Party	222	-	-
Revolutionary Socialists	115	-	-
BISLP	27	-	-

The PAS fielded thirteen candidates and a Protestant Progressive stood in Dalry ward.

Cormack's party achieved its greatest success, gaining 28.53% of the votes cast. The total Protestant vote, ie including that of the Protestant Progressive, was 35,002, 30.74% of the total cast, pushing the Socialists with 28.56% into third place. The six seats won by PAS, two in Canongate, one each in Broughton, Gorgie, Central Leith and South Leith, were all in working class neighbourhoods with severe housing problems. The Protestant Progressive lost to the Socialist candidate in Dalry but he got 2,522 of the 5,339 votes cast in the ward. The *Scotsman* in publishing these results commented, '...excitement at the announcement... was mainly due to PAS supporters many of whom arrived in a procession'.¹⁹ This was another indication of Cormack's ability to raise the enthusiasm of the electorate, to make municipal politics exciting. Notable successes were in Leith where unemployment remained high, still 22.1% of men in the insured population in December 1936.²⁰ The new town council consisted of 44 Progressives, 15 Socialists, 8 PAS, George Horne the Independent Protestant, and 1 Independent.²¹ This heavy preponderance of Progressive councillors was the norm for the council at this time and for many years after. The Socialists (as the Labour Party) did not achieve a majority in Edinburgh until 1984. The Progressive Party, which claimed to be non-political, was a Liberal/Conservative amalgam with the latter the dominant force.

In the aftermath of Edinburgh's 1936 municipal election Cormack was jubilant although significantly, four of the six successful PAS candidates were the new recruits, Mrs Henry, Ballantine, Dunlop and Trainer, whose commitment to the cause was to be found wanting. In an interview Cormack described the election as, 'a great triumph for the Protestant cause and for truth....the greatest victory for the No Popery campaign that

there could have been'. He went on to say that the party would put forward candidates for every seat at the 1937 municipal election and at the next general election he would stand for Leith and Mrs Esta Henry would contest East Edinburgh.²² Yet a year later it was really all over.

During 1937 dissension split the PAS. Cormack's second-in-command, James Marr and one of the new recruits, Councillor Dunlop, resigned from the party. There is no clear statement by the protagonists of what caused the split but a suggestion that the break was due to his dictatorial behaviour was denied by Cormack.²³ He asked the two men to resign as councillors as they had been elected as PAS members.²⁴ They did not do so. In February 1938 Councillor Dunlop joined the Progressive Party.²⁵ Mrs Henry also left the party, standing unsuccessfully as an Independent for Canongate ward in 1945 and 1946. Neither Ballantine nor Trainer defended their seats after the war when elections resumed. The seats would have come up for contest again in 1939 but elections were suspended for the duration of the 1939-1945 war. The four recruits who did so well in the 1936 election seem to have joined the bandwagon to further their own political careers, not from commitment to the PAS, and were unwilling to accept Cormack's very individual method of running the party. The success of these four people raises the question of how much of a personal vote they brought out, and the extent to which this may have exaggerated the PAS advance. Certainly the very fact of their departure weakened the party. These dissensions coupled with the political campaigns waged against the PAS by the other Edinburgh local parties, who now fully appreciated its appeal to the electorate, and the improving economic and social situation

in the city were to combine effectively to end the rise of the party.

1937 Decline

The Progressives were clearly rattled by PAS success in 1936, and prior to the next municipal election a supporter wrote a letter to the *Scotsman* stressing that:

Edinburgh in a general way may be described as a Protestant city and the Progressive councillors are Protestant. There has been evidence that some Protestants have the impression that they will not be loyal to their religion unless they vote for Protestant Action Society candidates. That may be due to the mistaken view that only Protestant Action candidates are Protestant. The city was very well governed before this sectarian cry arose.²⁶

The writer is making an appeal on religious lines, tacitly acknowledging anti-Roman Catholic feeling in the city. The appeal is less clamant than that of the PAS, but unmistakable. From the other end of the political spectrum the Communist Party issued a 16 page pamphlet claiming that 'sectarian strife is foreign to Edinburgh'.²⁷ It refers to PAS meetings at which the RC religion and its rituals were mocked and goes on:

later a few major religious riots were staged. By means of these methods, and most of all by a lying campaign that Catholic workers were the cause of Protestants being out of jobs and without houses, the Protestant agitation got its break with a despairing section of the people and got its break in the town council.²⁸

None of the eleven PAS candidates was successful in the election. The electoral rules allowed a candidate to stand in more than one ward at an election. For instance, an Independent Communist contested fourteen wards in Glasgow in the 1934 election. Predictably he failed in all of them.²⁹ Cormack, contesting two wards, Gorgie and North Leith, was among those defeated. A Protestant Progressive was also unsuccessful at Dalry but George M. Horne, once again standing as an Independent Protestant, was successful in South Leith. As ever with 'first past the post' election systems, the results did not truly reflect the strength of support for the contesting parties. As will be seen from the following table of aggregate results in the nineteen contested wards the Protestant candidates had meagre reward for considerable voting strength.

Edinburgh Municipal Elections 1937 - Voting Pattern³⁰

Party	Votes	Seats	Votes per seat
Socialist	40,584	7	5,797
Progressive	40,240	11	3,658
Protestants^a	27,790	1	27,790
Revolutionary Socialist	158	0	
Fascists	92	0	
International Socialist Party	31	0	

^a 11 PAS (Cormack standing in two wards), 1 Protestant Progressive and 1 Independent Protestant

Of the votes cast for Protestant party candidates the PAS accounted for 21,719, some twenty per cent of the vote, but won no seats. It was, however, a large drop from the

28.53% of the vote gained in 1936. The *Scotsman* reported a very large turnout to hear the election results. The street in front of the City Chambers was 'congested with a crowd of over 5,000 in which there were obvious blocks of Socialist and Protestant Action sympathisers'. Referring to the loss of two seats by PAS, the editorial comment was: 'It is satisfactory that this intolerant group has received a further check'.³¹

At the 1938 election, PAS put forward six candidates. During the electoral campaign the Edinburgh Branch of the Communist Party published two pamphlets in which reference was made to the PAS. One claimed that 'in 1938 the issue is a straight fight between Labour and Moderates....The bogey of Sectarian strife is dead'.³² The writer used the old name of the Progressive Party but the meaning was clear. Two pages of the other were given over to a critique of the PAS and why it had failed in 1937:

thirteen wards out of fourteen rejected the nominees of the so-called Protestant movement. Before the last election it was necessary to subject this movement to a serious examination – to X-Ray it. After these sweeping results it has become a fit subject for a post-mortem....It did not die due to 'rotten pamphlets' as alleged. The post-mortem reveals that it died of its own rottenness, which the pamphlets in question merely helped to expose.³³

The pamphlet went on to chronicle the splits in the party – the resignations of Marr and Dunlop, Mrs Henry's defection and Councillor Leitch's resignation – leaving only three

PAS councillors, drawing a parallel with the SPL in Glasgow and its rapid decline amid dissension among its representatives.³⁴ A speaker at a Communist election rally in Leith Town Hall that drew a capacity crowd of 1,500 is reported as saying, 'the religious strife makers had ceased to count for anything in Edinburgh'.³⁵ The 1938 election results very largely bore out these claims. In the highest percentage poll in the city, Cormack was returned for South Leith with a convincing majority, 3,853 votes to the Socialist runner-up's 2,510. The party's journal on 12 November 1938 commented, John Cormack was returned with a sound majority 'in face of scurrilous pamphlets and dirty tactics'.

However, all the other PAS candidates were defeated decisively including the retiring councillor in the Canongate. The total vote for Protestant candidates had fallen to 11,000, only 12% of the total.³⁶ The *Edinburgh and Leith Observer*, reporting on the first meeting of the Town Council after the election, says that the public gallery was crowded and that there was a burst of applause when Cormack entered the chamber.³⁷ His personal appeal was as strong as ever but his charisma was not sufficient to sustain the party. Because of the 1939-1945 war there were no elections until 1945 when there were two PAS candidates in Gorgie ward. Both were defeated. J. C. Trainer, PAS councillor for South Leith ward, had broken with Cormack and did not defend his seat.³⁸ Only Cormack and George Horne, the Independent Protestant remained on the council. In the Parliamentary Election of 1945 Cormack stood for the Leith constituency. Labour won with 60.9% of the vote, a National Liberal had 31.4% and Cormack got 7.8%.³⁹ His tally of 2,493 votes was very poor, especially compared with the 5,908 he received in his successful defence of his seat on the Town Council in 1947 when once again there was a high turnout, 55.4% of the electorate.⁴⁰ It seems that he was perceived

by the electors as someone who could be effective on local issues but without a national organisation he could not adequately represent the constituency. Horne lost his seat at the 1946 election. Although Cormack remained as a councillor, and latterly a bailie (magistrate), until 1962, the party was never again a force in Edinburgh politics. His continuing personal success seems to have been based on his character, 'distinguished by his absence of corruption and by his frugality'⁴¹ and by his reputation as an effective representative, good at taking up causes for anyone with a problem.⁴² The anti-RC crusade faded.

The press also contributed to the decline of the PAS. In chapter 6 the attitude of the Edinburgh newspapers to the PAS was discussed but it is appropriate here to note its contribution to the election debate. A remarkable feature of the PAS early successes had been that they were achieved despite the opposition of the Edinburgh press. It seems likely, however, that it was one of the factors leading to the eventual decline in fortune of the party. Prior to the 1937 election, a leader in the *Scotsman* commenting on the PAS candidates said, 'It is regrettable that sectarianism should have been imported into municipal elections where it should have no place'. It went on to criticise the Socialists who 'have made local government a political issue' and concluded, 'To maintain the Progressive strength in the Town Council is the only way to ensure the continuance of efficient local government in the Capital of Scotland'.⁴³ An article in the election day issue complained of 'an attempt to divert attention from the proper work of the Council, in order that this important public body may be made to serve the purposes of sectarian and religious bigotry. This menace is not at present serious and the intelligent body of

electors may be trusted to see that in Edinburgh it does not become serious'.⁴⁴

Commenting on the 1938 election results the *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch* said, 'Apart from the success of Mr John Cormack in South Leith it would appear as if the sectarian issue is losing ground. There will not be much regret about that...'.⁴⁵ The sustained hostility of the Edinburgh press could not but have some negative effect on a party which the Procurator Fiscal in his report noted earlier considered to rely on publicity to sustain momentum.

Conditions Contributing to Success

As we have seen the PAS was not alone in taking an anti-RC line in Edinburgh municipal elections during the 1930s. In 1935 the five other candidates opposed to the use of certain non-denominational school premises for RC pupils and standing on a Protestant platform had considerable support. At that election William Robertson, Protestant Defender, lost by only four votes in Dalry ward. George M. Horne, the Independent Protestant won a seat on the council that he held until 1946. In the 1935 election Protestant candidates garnered 23.64% of the votes cast but gained only the South Leith seat for Horne. It is clear that, quite apart from the PAS, there was sufficient feeling against RCs in the 1930s to engender significant support for anti-RC political parties despite the adamant opposition of the Edinburgh press. As was noted earlier, p. 276, even Progressives, although not overtly sectarian, stressed their Protestant credentials. Support for anti-RC candidates was most evident in the working class wards of the city where high levels of unemployment and poor housing caused bitter resentment, particularly in Leith where Cormack had his first and later lasting

political success. As we have seen nearly 24% of the insured population, that is the mainly skilled workers, in Leith were unemployed in 1935.⁴⁶ The proportion of unskilled who were unemployed was probably higher. Housing conditions for many people in the city were poor, notably in the wards where Protestant candidates did well. Although there is not a perfect correlation, even when not successful the PAS candidate had considerable support, as the following table shows.

Proportion of Dwellings of One or Two Rooms and of the Population Living Therein⁴⁷ with percentage vote for PAS in 1936⁴⁸

	Dwellings	Population	PAS Vote
	%	%	%
Edinburgh City - total	38.5	37.1	28.5
Calton	49.6	48.7	34.8 Lost
Canongate	57.0	54.6	48.3 Won
Gorgie	49.0	48.7	51.5 Won
Dalry	63.3	60.9	47.2 Lost
Central Leith	61.9	60.7	43.2 Won
North Leith	61.2	58.2	46.6 Lost
South Leith	43.6	42.2	52.9 Won

These areas were subject to slum clearance action. North Leith ward, for instance, had a concentration of desperately poor housing close to the docks and on 9 January 1936 the Town Council resolved that one of the worst areas should be cleared and ordered parts of Couper, Admiralty, Prince Regent and East Cromwell Streets to be demolished or

closed, the tenants to be offered housing in Granton Mains Housing Area on the outskirts of the city.⁴⁹ A meeting of the Council's Housing and Sanitation Subcommittee on 25 February 1936 had under consideration a motion that 'in view of the grave and deplorable housing conditions... within the North Leith Ward... to schedule that entire area as a redevelopment area'.⁵⁰ The condition of houses in the Dalry/Gorgie area is given special mention in *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland*.

The nearest approach to the industrial slum familiar throughout the rest of Britain is the densely packed area between the Glasgow railway line and the canal which stretches from Morrison Street through Dalry to Gorgie. Built mostly to a uniform plan of living room (with bed recess and a tap and sink in the window), WC and bedroom they were an immense improvement on the Old Town.⁵¹

It was to these houses that those who could afford to do so moved in the nineteenth century. They were better than the inner city slums but in the twentieth century fell short of adequate standards. The wards in which Protestants did well were also densely populated areas. Figures for the 1930s are not available but in 1951 Central Leith was the most crowded ward in the city with 7,599 persons per hundred acres, Calton had 6,196, Gorgie-Dalry 5,330, Broughton 3,743 and South Leith 3,481 while the least populous ward, semi-rural Colinton had 306. The figure for Edinburgh was 1,440.⁵² The pressures of poverty and overcrowded, often slum, housing were among the factors that brought working class support to Cormack and his like.

Since RCs of Irish descent were still in the 1930s most likely to be found in lower paid jobs they were a significant part of the population in the least affluent wards. Cooney, discussing the integration of RCs into Scottish society, says, 'more than any other measure, the 1918 Act enabled Catholics to climb the social ladder, but it was not until the 1930s that the first beneficiaries began to make their mark in the professions, the trades and the technical and managerial posts in industry and commerce'.⁵³ Gallagher, describing the RC community in Edinburgh in the 1930s, says, 'they were predominantly unskilled labourers'.⁵⁴ The locations in which noticeable numbers of RCs lived is significant in the context of PAS electioneering. The nearest date for which figures are available for numbers of RCs are from the Diocesan parish statistics for 1943. In Leith, where RCs were concentrated in the old quarters of North and South Leith, St Mary's, Star of the Sea, returned a figure of 3,367. At Slateford, covering roughly the Dalry/Gorgie wards, St Cuthbert's had 3,183, St Patrick's in the Cowgate, covering the area including the Canongate, had 4,909.⁵⁵ In these areas the fusion of adverse social and economic conditions and religious influences seem most clearly to have produced the anti-Irish RC sentiments that contributed to the PAS electoral successes.

Reasons for Decline

As economic and social conditions in Scotland generally and Edinburgh in particular improved so perhaps the most important factor in the equation lost its force. Recovery was slower in Scotland than in England. Peak unemployment occurred in 1933 and thereafter there was a gradual but quickening improvement although it was patchy. As

the following table shows unemployment among men decreased markedly as the decade progressed although it remained uncomfortably high, especially in Leith.

**Number of Unemployed Men on the Registers as a percentage of the Insured
Population in December each Year 1932 – 1939⁵⁶**

	Great Britain	Scotland	Edinburgh	Leith
1932	26.7	35.1	22.6*	31.2
1933	22.0	32.2	20.4*	31.7
1934	19.7	28.6	19.9*	29.3
1935	17.3	25.6	19.4	24.8
1936	14.8	21.9	18.6	22.1
1937	12.9	19.4	15.8	20.3
1938	13.7	18.2	15.6	#
1939	9.1	12.7	11.2	#

***The Edinburgh figures for 1932, 1933 and 1934 include men from depressed areas attending Government Training or Instructional Centres.**

#Leith is combined with Edinburgh after 1937.

In Leith, which had suffered most severely from unemployment, a new grain elevator was opened in 1934 and a dock extension scheme started in 1936 providing new employment opportunities. From 1935 there were other encouraging improvements in employment prospects as trade in Leith docks improved and Henry Robb, the shipbuilder and a major employer, won orders. A meeting of the Society of Sworn Meters and Weighers of Leith (skilled dock workers) in December 1935 recorded 'a rush of work' and the need to look for some new 'young men'. It also noted that during the

year rates for work began to rise again – prosperity had returned.⁵⁷ The *Edinburgh and Leith Observer* of 1 January 1937 reported that Robb had increased tonnage built by 1,801 tons over the previous year. On 8 January 1937 the same paper reported that Robb had eight ships on order. The firm's report of prospering business in 1937 was given publicity in the *Scotsman* of 9 July 1937. At a meeting of directors of the firm in December 1937 the managing director commented 'at the beginning of the present year shipbuilding took a turn for the better'. He mentioned 'a large Admiralty programme' and that 'owing to the pressure of work men had to be started who had been away from the trade for years'.⁵⁸ The *Scotsman* of 14 July 1937 featured the Leith Dock Commission annual report for 1936-37 noting that Leith had shared in the general improvement in trade in the past year. Increased activity in the shipyards and docks brought a concomitant increase in work for sub-contractors, suppliers and carters, an all round improvement. Slum clearance was proceeding, albeit rather slowly considering the need, and population was being moved from the crowded central areas to new council housing in the suburbs.

Economic recovery leading to increased employment in the period leading up to the war of 1939-1945 made tangible improvements in the condition of working people and the newspapers gave space to the good news. This, together with some improvement in housing conditions for working class families, relieved the social tensions that were a main contributory cause of the PAS success. Blaming Irish RCs for unemployment and poor housing in Edinburgh was central to the party's propaganda. The BUF experience in London in the 1930s, while not exactly comparable, has some parallels with that of

the PAS, at first increasing support but falling away by 1937. The Public Order Act of 1936 which curbed that party's activities certainly had its effect but the improvement in economic and social conditions was an important factor. Benewick notes that in 1935 Great Britain was on the road to recovery and he attributes at least part of the cause of failure of the party to 'the signs of recovery appearing in Britain'.⁵⁹ The split in the party, Cormack's tactical error in standing for two wards, the opposing political parties' pamphlet campaign and the hostility of the local press all no doubt contributed to PAS failure in the 1937 and 1938 municipal elections. Earlier elections, in 1934, 1935 and 1936, had been held while economic conditions in Edinburgh were improving only very gradually and unemployment, although decreasing slowly, was still high. Action on slum housing had started but was not on a large scale. Significantly, however, in 1937 improvement in economic and social conditions was more noticeable, the fall in unemployment was accelerating and the housing programme, although slow, was progressing and this good news was featured in the newspapers, helping to create a more hopeful climate of opinion in which the social safety valve of scapegoating had decreasing relevance. Also the advent of war in 1939 gave people something of overriding importance to think about. Commenting on politics in 1930s Edinburgh Professor John P. Mackintosh and D.T. Terris concluded that 'the war and full employment took the fire out of anti-catholicism'.⁶⁰

Notes to Chapter 7

1 The Moderate Party changed its name to Progressive for the following year's election.

2 *Scotsman*, 7 November 1934.

- 3 *Scotsman*, 8 November 1933.
- 4 *Scotsman*, 7 November 1934.
- 5 *Scotsman* 7 November 1934.
- 6 *Scotsman*, 3 April 1935.
- 7 *Edinburgh and Leith Observer (ELO)*, 5 April 1935.
- 8 *Scotsman*, 4 April 1935.
- 9 David and Gareth Butler, *British Political Facts 1900-1945* (London, 1986), p. 231.
- 10 *Edinburgh Evening News*, 31 October 1935.
- 11 *Edinburgh Evening News*, 4 November 1935.
- 12 *Edinburgh Evening News*, 5 November 1935.
- 13 *ELO*, 13 September 1935.
- 14 *Scotsman*, 6 November 1935.
- 15 *Scotsman*, 3 November 1936.
- 16 *Edinburgh Evening News*, 2 November 1936.
- 17 *Scotsman*, 3 November 1936.
- 18 *Scotsman*, 4 November 1936.
- 19 *Scotsman*, 4 November 1936.
- 20 *Ministry of Labour Local Unemployment Index, No. 120 – 1936*.
- 21 *Scotsman*, 4 November 1936.
- 22 *ELO*, 6 November 1936.
- 23 *ELO*, 12 March 1937.
- 24 *ELO*, 2 April 1937.

- 25 *ELO*, 11 February 1938.
- 26 *Scotsman*, 1 November 1937.
- 27 Fred Douglas, *The Protestant Movement X-Rayed* (Edinburgh, 1937), title page.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- 29 *Scotsman*, 7 November 1934.
- 30 *Scotsman*, 3 November 1937.
- 31 *Scotsman*, 3 November 1937.
- 32 Fred Douglas, *Whose Edinburgh?* (Edinburgh, 1938), p. 12.
- 33 Fred Douglas, *Let's Spend a Million. The Communist plan for building a better Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1938), p. 1.
- 34 *Ibid.*, pp. 2 & 3.
- 35 *ELO*, 28 October 1938.
- 36 *ELO*, 4 November 1938.
- 37 *ELO*, 11 November 1938.
- 38 *Scotsman*, 7 November 1945.
- 39 F.W.S. Craig, *British Parliamentary Elections 1918-1949* (Glasgow, 1969), p. 609.
- 40 *Scotsman*, 5 November 1947.
- 41 Rosemary Goring, ed., *Chambers Scottish Biographical Dictionary* (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 95.
- 42 From George Hackland's recollections.
- 43 *Scotsman*, 30 October 1937.
- 44 *Scotsman*, 2 November 1937.
- 45 *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch*, 2 November 1938.
- 46 Milnes, Vol. 1, p. 85.

- 47 *Census of Scotland 1931*, Vol. 1, Part 1, pp. 33-5.
- 48 *Scotsman*, 4 November 1936.
- 49 *Minutes of the Town Council of Edinburgh, Session 1935-36*, 9 January 1936.
- 50 *Scotsman*, 26 February 1936.
- 51 *Third Statistical Account of Scotland, The City of Edinburgh*, ed. David Keir, (Glasgow, 1966), p. 372.
- 52 *Census of Scotland*, Vol. 1, Pt 1, City of Edinburgh, p. 6.
- 53 John Cooney, *Scotland and the Papacy: John Paul II's visit in Perspective* (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 89.
- 54 Gallagher, *Edinburgh*, p. 35.
- 55 RC Archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh, Parish Census - Edinburgh, 1943.
- 56 *Ministry of Labour Local Unemployment Index*, No. 96 – 1934, 108 – 1935, 120 – 1936, New Series No. 12 – 1937, No. 24 – 1938 and No. 32 – 1939. The publication was discontinued after August 1939 and the figure for that year is for August.
- 57 Sue Mowat, *The Metters of Leith* (Edinburgh, 1991), p. 38.
- 58 NAS, GD 339/1
- 59 Benewick, p. 301.
- 60 John P. Mackintosh and D.T. Terris, 'Religious Politics', in *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland. The City of Edinburgh*, ed. David Keir, (Glasgow, 1966), pp. 314-5, (p. 315).

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The appeal and consequent political success of John Cormack and his Protestant Action Society was not an aberration in the development of Edinburgh society. The party had its roots in the centuries of religious history of the city since the Reformation that had created a tradition of anti-Roman Catholicism, renewed and strengthened in the more recent social disruption caused by large scale immigration of Irish RCs during a period of rapid industrial change in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which, even without the strains of coping with the immigrants, would have posed great problems for the indigenous population. There were clearly identifiable antecedents in the nineteenth century for the party, its anti-RC policy and its rhetoric and in the Presbyterian churches' campaign for a curb on immigration from Ireland in the 1920s. A more immediate reason for the rise of the party was the challenge presented by the increasingly confident and assertive Church of Rome in the 1930s. Archbishop McDonald was seen by some people to adopt a deliberately provocative, high profile stance for the Church in his first ten years of office, creating large-scale public displays of his faith and seeking publicity for its organisations. A less confrontational attitude might not have provided the occasions for the demonstrations which gave Cormack opportunities to raise the enthusiasm of his supporters and popularise his campaign which, it has to be recognised, was founded on long established anti- Irish RC sentiment in the city. The rhetoric of the Archbishop's press statements, no less than Cormack's oratory, seems calculated to raise the heat of the dispute.

The creation by John Cormack of the Protestant Action Society and its briefly successful appearance on the Edinburgh scene were consistent with the history of the city and of Scotland and with the reaction to the economic, social and political conditions of the time of people in Britain and other European nations. The PAS appealed to history to legitimise its campaign and referred to the more recent experience of the 'Irish Invasion' and the current actions of the Roman Church for justification. The Presbyterian churches' campaign for restriction of Irish immigration gave the party a degree of respectability, so important in Edinburgh. The depressed economic and social conditions created insecurity and fear among working people and a willingness to accept scapegoating of the RC minority in their need for some action to improve their lot.

P. Hume Brown claimed that 'it is hardly too much to say, indeed, that half, and perhaps the better half, of our knowledge of our national history is unconsciously learned'.¹ The support which Cormack received from so many working class people arose in part from their understanding of Scotland's history since the Reformation, which as Brown would say was 'unconsciously learned', folk memory of the 'Irish Invasion' in the recent past and their own immediate experience of social and economic hardship in the 1930s in which immigrant Irish RCs and their succeeding generations were blamed for much of the sufferings of the native population. For the PAS, Edinburgh's RCs had the role given to Jews and other minorities on mainland Europe. A degree of continuity and of respectability was granted to the PAS political campaigns by the anti-RC activities and rhetoric of the Presbyterian churches which had been a consistent part of Scotland's political life for nearly four centuries and had been revived as anti-Irish RC polemic

from the mid-nineteenth century, with a particularly persistent campaign in the 1920s as fear of advance by the Church of Rome took hold. RCs were widely seen as assertive if not aggressive, not least in Edinburgh where Archbishop McDonald was considered by some to have raised the profile of his church in combative style.

The sense of history which many people in Scotland had in the early twentieth century was derived more from the oral tradition that passed on the experience of earlier generations than from any formal teaching or reading of history although the latter in the popular forms of newspaper articles and local history publications were important sources of information. Government action in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries replaced the old religious calendar of holidays with a political calendar of days of celebration that served to confirm the rule of Protestant monarchs. Key events such as the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 were annual occasions to give thanks for deliverance from Popish aggression and were still popular subjects for historians in the twentieth century. Others such as the king's birthday were opportunities for loyal subjects to acknowledge the munificence of the monarch. They were all used to stress the Protestant ascendancy and helped to create the mindset of many Scots who still considered Roman Catholicism to be alien in the 1930s. Some of these days of celebration continued into the twentieth century although their form had changed, most notably in nineteenth century when the effigy burned on Bonfire Night was changed from that of the Pope to one of Guy Fawkes. However, the message remained the same. RCs were the enemy, not to be trusted. Specifically Scottish events were remembered, John Knox anniversaries and the times of the Covenanters which

drew crowds for the PAS in the 1930s. Such celebrations, reminders of the days of danger and martyrdom, served to reinforce the oral tradition. It was to this popular view of history that Cormack and the PAS appealed, as had earlier anti-RC organisations, and they seem to have struck a chord. The social and economic conditions of the 1930s were, however, a major factor in the PAS success just as they were for the Nazis in Germany and the Fascists in Italy. High levels of unemployment and common experience of financial hardship created the conditions in which scapegoating was only too easy an option for some politicians. Blaming a readily identifiable minority for unemployment and poor housing was not a tactic confined to the PAS in Scotland but it was most vehement in exploiting the issue. In Scotland this scapegoating was never accepted as fully respectable in the way it was in Germany and Italy so that the PAS remained what it had been from its beginning, a local organisation with working class leadership. The depressed economic conditions of the early 1930s were significant issues for the party. One of the Communist pamphlets noted in chapter 7 put it bluntly:

the mongrel agitation, setting one section of the Edinburgh working people against another profited by the long-continued depression, especially in Leith, and the fact that many people were reduced to despair, and like drowning people, ready to clutch at straws.²

It is not surprising that as conditions improved and unemployment fell so the need for someone to blame decreased. Cormack had made religion the central issue but it seems likely that for his supporters the real immediate issues were economic and social,

employment and housing. It is most significant that the PAS declined as improving conditions both in employment and housing were established as a continuing trend. The PAS with its central anti-Irish RC policy of blaming Irish RCs for unemployment and housing problems could not but be affected by this change. Coupled with the party's own internal difficulties, the denial of publicity by, and indeed hostility of the local Edinburgh press and the measured response of the authorities local and national, the recovery in the local economy meant that the PAS ceased to make a stir. In these circumstances the end inevitably was political failure.

Previous studies of Cormack and the PAS have not acknowledged the strength of the traditional version of history that helped form the mindset of so many Edinburgh people in the 1930s. But it was this commonly accepted version of the history of Protestantism that legitimised the PAS campaign. Anti-Roman Catholicism, which by early twentieth century had evolved into Anti-Irish Roman Catholicism, had been built up since the Reformation and was reinforced by the racial ideas, of superior and inferior peoples, common in Europe in the inter-war years and used by the extreme right political parties in their search for scapegoats for the economic and social ills of the time. This gave a contemporary gloss to the still existing 'anti-popery' tradition in Leith and Edinburgh, which Gallagher denied in his *Edinburgh Divided*. Neither Gallagher in this work nor Bruce in *No Pope of Rome* recognises the extent to which the people involved considered the PAS street manifestations as counter-demonstrations. In this way they give insufficient weight to the extent to which the Archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh was seen to be aggressively promoting the image of his faith in a still

predominantly Protestant city and providing the occasions for PAS displays of strength. The confrontations were deemed by some to have been deliberately provoked.

Another area to which insufficient importance is given in these analyses is the social and economic condition of the city, particularly Leith, in the 1930s. It is arguable that without the hardships being endured by many and feared even by those, the majority, still in work, the PAS would not have had such a degree of success. Reasonably affluent, sufficiently contented people have no need for scapegoats. Anti-Roman Catholicism might have continued to exist but as a background and fading tradition. There is too a failure to give the authorities, national and local, credit for their handling of the situation. As we have noted earlier, Gallagher in *Edinburgh Divided* criticises the 'establishment' for failure to react firmly to PAS actions. We have seen from the records of these authorities that they had a settled policy that included avoiding aggressive police/demonstrator confrontation and denying the PAS publicity, in which they had the co-operation of the Edinburgh newspapers, and that it succeeded. It did so not least in avoiding really serious trouble and damage to persons and property. This lack of serious damage was a feature of the PAS street actions which is not remarked upon in any of the references to Cormack and the PAS yet it is worthy of record. There is a dichotomy between the rhetoric they employed and the actions of the crowds that they brought onto the streets. In chapter 6 we have noted that the 'smash-up' of which Cormack gave warning for the occasion of the civic reception for the CYMS never happened and also that when there was potential for serious trouble during the demonstration in connection with the Eucharistic Congress a PAS spokesman is

reported as telling the crowd, 'Councillor Cormack's orders were that Protestants were to behave themselves in an orderly manner'. Certainly, no matter how large the crowd, there was never resort to the level of violence experienced in Northern Ireland or in Liverpool. The president of the Edinburgh Trades Council may have hit upon an underlying explanation for this when he said in the speech quoted in chapter 6 that the peculiar circumstances of Edinburgh produced 'a social consciousness rather different to what is found in most industrial centres' and that 'workers had become infected with the prevailing atmosphere of respectability'. It may be that a desire for respectability was an important factor inducing the restraint shown by the demonstrators.

The 1939-1945 war seems to have marked an end to strident anti-Roman Catholicism in Edinburgh as it did to high-profile anti-semitism in Britain. Also, as can be seen from the following table, the flow of Irish immigrants, which had been diminishing since the beginning of the century, fell dramatically in the period after 1931.

Irish-born resident in Scotland 1861 – 1951³

Census	Number	% of Population	Census	Number	% of Population
1861	204,083	6.66	1901	205,064	4.59
1871	207,770	6.18	1911	174,715	3.67
1881	218,745	5.86	1921	159,020	3.26
1891	194,807	4.84	1931	124,296	2.57
			1951	89,007	1.75

Religion as a social force had been weakened by the 1920s and 1930s. It may have been, as R.F. Mackenzie has written of developments in Scotland in the 1920s, part of 'the process by which large numbers of people doff an old allegiance and don a new one, giving up paganism for Columba's Christianity, giving up Catholicism for Knox's Calvinism, giving up religion for socialism'.⁴ It did, however, continue to have the potential to create considerable tension between Christian sects when combined with economic and social stress. Ironically it was the approach of a different kind of stress, war, that fired the economic recovery and helped end the turmoil of the PAS campaigns in Edinburgh in the 1930s. The end of the 1939-45 war marked the beginning of a new era. Full employment and extensive house building programmes provided much improved economic and social conditions for most people. The Government's policy 'aimed at full employment, high wages...the dreaded post-war depression (thought by some to be inevitable) did not come to pass'.⁵ Such conditions provide infertile ground for agitators seeking some sort of grievance, some perceived injustice, to which they can link a campaign for political power. The war also seemed to mark a further change in the part that religion played in the lives of most people. During the war there was a fall in Church of Scotland membership of 22% and the number of active communicants did not return to the 1938 level until 1959.⁶ Since then there has been a further falling off in active membership. Other Protestant churches have experienced similar declines. However, it is probably the experience of the Roman Catholic Church that has had the greatest effect. Rather later than the Protestant churches it has acknowledged a drop in the number of adherents. Cooney quotes research showing that 'leakage', people leaving the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, was increasing in the second half of the

twentieth century. The number lost between 1931 and 1951 was 52,000. From 1951 to 1976 it was 120,000.⁷ Brierley and Macdonald have noted that the proportion of the adult population of all denominations attending church each week had fallen from 17% in 1984 to 14% in 1994.⁸ Their 1994 census disclosed constant losses by both the Church of Scotland and the RC Church in Scotland as the following table shows.

Membership and Attendance 1980 – 1994⁹

	Church of Scotland		Roman Catholic	
	Membership*	Attendance	Membership#	Attendance
1980	1,113,800	381,890	816,100	296,030
1984	1,040,440	373,370	814,400	286,990
1990	939,820	345,470	778,960	283,630
1994	872,440	328,980	742,300	245,990

* Adult members

Total RC population including children

Other Presbyterian churches also saw falling attendance over the period although for some other minor churches attendance increased. However the numbers involved were very small and do not greatly affect the general trend.¹⁰ Also, in the post-war period, the ecumenical movement served to relieve some of the tensions between the Christian sects. Gallagher quotes a report in the *Glasgow Observer* for 3 February 1938 of a speech by a Catholic business man, John A. Barry, 'The next thirty years will decide whether God or Mammon will rule in this country...many young people who are here today will live to see Scotland atheist or Roman Catholic'.¹¹ Post 1968 neither atheism

nor the Roman Catholic Church has triumphed. Instead, it seems that while religions of many kinds, Christian, Hindu, Islam and others continued to have influence, many Scots placed less weight than hitherto on religious belief. Nevertheless, religion remained a part of the social conscience, most people still claiming some sort of religious belief. Whittaker shows only a slight decline in the number of persons in the UK professing to be Christian from 40.9 million in 1975 to 39.4 million in 1995. In the same period the number of non-Christians increased from 1.4 to 2.8 million.¹² The population of Great Britain at the 1991 census was 54,156,067.¹³

Postscript

Perhaps, like the ancient Romans, people were coming to believe that all religions were equally true, and all equally useful. Indeed, for a time it seemed that the contention between Protestant and Roman Catholic was no longer capable of raising any great degree of heat. However in recent times there has been a revival of sectarian polemic. At Edinburgh's International Festival in 1999 James McMillan, a RC composer of orchestral music, delivered a speech in which he denounced what he called 'Scotland's anti-Catholic bigotry'. McMillan is quoted as saying that John Knox was a sixteenth century Pol Pot, the despot of Cambodia who is reputed to have caused the deaths of millions of his countrymen. His main theme was that 'in many walks of life – in the workplace, in the professions, in academia, in politics and in sport – anti-Catholicism is as endemic as it is second nature.... There is still, even today, a palpable sense of some threat and hostility to all things Catholic in this country'.¹⁴ In the period to 22 August 1999 the *Scotsman* published 24 letters from readers, half of them in support of

McMillan, the others critical of his views. Interestingly those taking part in the resulting controversy included noted RC academics among whom were six professors including T. M. Devine, Director of the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies at Aberdeen University, who edited a collection of essays on the subject.¹⁵ In a long article in the *Scotsman* a columnist, Allan Massie, took McMillan to task for failing to acknowledge the sectarianism and bigotry shown by some RCs. He pointed to the number of RCs prominent in the upper ranks of the law, academia, business, the media, politics, local government, the National Health Service and other public bodies as evidence of assimilation and concluded that, 'exaggerated protests like James McMillan's are more likely to breathe new life into the deplorable beast than to hasten its death'.¹⁶ Most prominent RCs, including the then Secretary of State for Scotland, Dr John Reid, chose not to take part in the controversy.

At the start of the twenty-first century there was another echo of sectarian controversy when Mr Bertie Ahern, Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland, cancelled an engagement to visit Carfin Grotto in Lanarkshire to unveil a memorial to the victims of the Irish famine of 1845. Mr Frank Roy, the MP for Motherwell and Wishaw, which includes the Carfin area, had advised Mr Ahern to call off the visit, expressing fears that there might be serious trouble at the unveiling which was planned to take place immediately after a crucial Celtic-Rangers football match in Glasgow. There had been violence after an earlier cup-tie involving the two teams during which a Rangers supporter was stabbed and 41 people arrested.¹⁷ The *Scotsman* gave the report twenty column inches with a heading 'Sectarian Fears Halt Visit' and in an editorial 'Haunted

by Ugly Memories' criticised the MP for 'an over-reaction that perpetuates the myth of our nation as a seething cauldron of religious bigotry'.¹⁸ On the following day the paper devoted a full page to a discussion of the extent of sectarianism in Scotland and a long report of repercussions from the affair.¹⁹ A few days later the paper had a front-page report of fifteen column inches and a twenty column inch article on an inside page linking the incident to violence in Northern Ireland.²⁰ Next day the paper published six letters to the editor including one from a RC clergyman who said the monument was meant to commemorate '100,000 (who) fled to Scotland' after the Irish Famine of 1845-1851. Another letter criticised the RC Church for turning the occasion 'into a political event by inviting the Taoiseach (Irish Prime Minister) and members of the Scottish Executive to Carfin' which he thought illustrated a fundamental difference between the Presbyterian and RC religions. The writer went on -

One would be extremely surprised and disappointed if Lochgoin and Fenwick Covenanters Trust were to invite the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, and members of the Scottish Executive to a memorial to the 18,000 martyrs to episcopacy at the Covenanter's Museum at Lochgoin.²¹

The affair was still echoing in the paper the next day with an article occupying the greater part of the opinion page.²² Whatever effect the incident had on the general population it had certainly exercised the editor of the *Scotsman*. It was also an occasion for remembrance of Covenanting times. An odd feature of this episode is that all those involved in the initial incident were RCs. The MP who raised the alarm and the

members of the government accused of being party to or at least being aware of the warning, Dr Reid, by then Northern Ireland Secretary and Mrs Liddell, the newly appointed Secretary of State for Scotland, were all prominent RCs.

It is clear that religious differences in Scotland are still capable of creating controversy in the twenty-first century. Nevertheless, despite these affairs and occasional references to sectarianism and religious differences in Scottish newspapers, it does seem that Protestant/Roman Catholic conflict no longer has the capacity to create the kind of manifestations of distrust and fear reported in the 1930s. Except, of course, among supporters of soccer clubs with histories of sectarian fervour and violence, particularly Glasgow Rangers and Celtic.

Notes to Chapter 8

- 1 P. Hume Brown, *Surveys of Scottish History* (Glasgow, 1919), p. 2.
- 2 Fred Douglas, *The Protestant Movement X-Rayed*, p. 5.
- 3 *Census of Scotland, 1951*, Table M, p. xliv.
- 4 R.F. Mackenzie, *A Search for Scotland* (London, 1989), p. 47.
- 5 George S. Pryde, *A New History of Scotland*, vol. II, *Scotland from 1603 to the present day* (Edinburgh, 1962), pp. 325-6.
- 6 Callum G. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland Since 1730* (London, 1987), pp. 210 & 212.
- 7 John Cooney, *Scotland and the Papacy: Pope John Paul II's Visit in Perspective* (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 95.
- 8 Peter Brierley and Fergus Macdonald, *Prospects for Scotland 2000: Trends and Tables from the 1994 Church Census* (Edinburgh, 1995), p. 16.

- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 112.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 11 Gallagher, *Edinburgh*, p. 166.
- 12 *Whittaker's Almanac 2001*, p. 409.
- 13 *Great Britain Census, 1991*, part 1, vol.I, p. 18.
- 14 *Scotsman*, 10 August 1999.
- 15 T. M. Devine, ed., *Scotland's Shame? Bigotry and sectarianism in modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2000).
- 16 *Scotsman*, 10 August 1999.
- 17 *Scotsman*, 9 February 2001.
- 18 *Scotsman*, 8 February, 2001.
- 19 *Scotsman*, 9 February 2001.
- 20 *Scotsman*, 12 February 2001.
- 21 *Scotsman*, 13 February 2001.
- 22 *Scotsman*, 14 February 2001.

Appendix 1

List of persons executed for heresy in the years leading up to the Reformation. Culled from the appendices to *The Works of John Knox*, collected and edited by David Laing, 6 vols (Edinburgh, 1846-1864).

1407 James Risby

1431 Paul Crows

1528 Patrick Hamilton

1532 Henry Forest

1534 David Straton

Norman Gurlay

1534 Tho Forret, priest

John Kelowe, friar

Benarage, priest

Duncan Simpson, priest

Rob. Foster, gentleman

3 or 4 other men of Stirling

1543 The Perth Craftsmen -

Robert Lamb

William Anderson

James Raelson, fletcher

James Founleson and his wife Helen Styrke

1546 George Wishart

1550 Adam Wallace

1558 Walter Myln

1570.

Pius Bishop, Servant to God's Servants, for a future Memorial of the matter.

HE that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in Heaven and in Earth, hath committed his One, Holy, Catholick and Apostolick Church, out of which there is no Salvation, to one alone upon Earth, namely to Peter the chief of the Apostles, and to Peter's Successour the Bishop of Rome, to be by him governed with plenary Authority. Him alone hath he made Prince over all People and all Kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant and build; that he may preserve his Faithfull people (knit together with the Band of Charity) in the Unity of the Spirit, and present them spotless and unblamable to their Saviour. In Discharge of which Function, We, who are by God's Goodness called to the Government of the aforesaid Church, do spare no Pains, labouring with all earnestness, that Unity and the Catholick Religion (which the Authour thereof hath, for the Trial of his Childrens Faith, and for our Amendment, suffered to be tossed with so great Afflictions,) might be preserved sincere. But the number of the Ungodly hath gotten such Power, that there is now no place in the whole World left which they have not essayed to corrupt with their most wicked Doctrines; and amongst others, Elizabeth, the pretended Queen of England, the Servant of Wickedness, lendeth thereunto her helping hand, with whom, as in a Sanctuary, the most pernicious persons have found a Refuge. This very Woman, having seized on the Kingdom, and manstrously usurped the place of Supreme Head of the Church in all England, and the chief Authority and Jurisdiction thereof, hath again reduced the said Kingdom into a miserable and ruinous Condition, which was so lately reclaimed to the Catholick Faith and a thriving Condition.

For having by strong hand prohibited the Exercise of the true Religion, which Mary, the lawfull Queen of famous Memory, had by the Help of this See restored, after it had been formerly overthrown by Henry the Eighth, a Revolter therefrom, and following and embracing the Errours of Hereticks, she hath changed the Royal Council, consisting of the English Nobility, and filled it up with Obscure men being Hereticks; suppressed the Embracers of the Catholick Faith; constituted lewd Preachers and Ministers of Impiety; abolished the Sacrifice of the Mass, Prayers, Fastings, Choice of Meats, Unmarried life, and the Catholick Rites and Ceremonies; commanded Books to be read through the whole Realm containing manifest Heresie, and appointed impious Rites and Institutions, by her self entertained and observed according to the Prescript of Calvin, to be likewise observed by her Subjects; presumed to eject Bishops, Parsons of Churches, and other Catholick Priests, out of their Churches and Benefices, and to bestow them and other Church Livings upon Hereticks, and to determine of Church Causes; prohibited the Prelates, Clergie and People to acknowledge the Church of Rome, or obey the Precepts and Canonical Sanctions thereof; compelled most of them to condescend to her wicked

1570.

ked Laws, and to abjure the Authority and Obedience of the Bishop of Rome, and to acknowledge her to be sole Lady in Temporal and Spiritual matters, and this by Oath; imposed Penalties and Punishments upon those which obeyed not, and exacted them of those which persevered in the Unity of the Faith and their Obedience aforesaid; cast the Catholick Prelates and Rectours of Churches into Prison, where many of them, being worn out with long Languishing and Sorrow, miserably ended their Lives. All which things being so manifest and notorious to all Nations, and by the serious Testimony of very many so substantially proved, that there is no place at all left for Excuse, Defence or Evasion: We seeing that Impieties and Wicked actions are multiplied one upon another, as also that the Persecution of the Faithfull and Affliction for Religion groweth every day heavier and heavier, through the Instigation and by means of the said Elizabeth, and since We understand her Heart to be so hardened and obdurate, that she hath not onely contemned the godly Requests and Admonitions of Catholick Princes concerning her Cure and Conversion, but also hath not so much as suffered the Nuncio's of this See to cross the Seas for this purpose into England, are constrained of necessity to betake ourselves to the Weapons of Justice against her, being heartily grieved and sorry, that we are compelled thus to punish one to whose Ancestours the whole State of Christendom hath been so much beholden. Being therefore supported with His Authority whose Pleasure it was to place Us (though unable for so great a Burthen) in this Supreme Throne of Justice, We do, out of the fulness of our Apostolick Power, declare the aforesaid Elizabeth, as being an Heretick and a Favourer of Hereticks, and her Adherents in the matters aforesaid, to have incurred the Sentence of Excommunication, and to be cut off from the Unity of the Body of Christ. And moreover We do declare her to be deprived of her pretended Title to the Kingdom aforesaid, and of all Dominion, Dignity and Privilege whatsoever; and also the Nobility, Subjects and People of the said Kingdom, and all others who have in any sort sworn unto her, to be for ever absolved from any such Oath, and all manner of Duty of Dominion, Allegiance and Obedience: and We also do by Authority of these Presents absolve them, and do deprive the said Elizabeth of her pretended Title to the Kingdom, and all other things beforenamed. And we do command and charge all and every the Noblemen, Subjects, People, and others aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her, or her Orders, Mandates and Laws: and those which shall doe the contrary, We do include them in the like Sentence of Anathema. And because it would be a difficult matter to convey these Presents to all places wheresoever it shall be needfull; Our Will is, that the Copies thereof under a publick Notarie's Hand, and sealed with the Seal of an Ecclesiastical Prelate, or of his Court, shall carry altogether the same Credit with all men, judicially and extrajudicially, as these Presents should doe, if they were exhibited or shewed. Given at Rome at S. Peter's in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord one thousand five hundred sixty nine, the fifth of the Calends of March, and of our Popedom the fifth year.

Ca. Glorierius.

X

Here.

Appendix 3

Copy of a translation of a letter from Mary Queen of Scots to King Philip II of Spain.

Glasgow, September 10th, 1565

To the King of Spain.

Monsieur, my good brother,

The interest which you have always taken in the maintenance and support of our Catholic religion, induced me some time since to solicit your favour and assistance, as I foresaw what has now taken place in the kingdom, and which tends to the utter ruin of the Catholics, and to the establishment of those unfortunate errors, which, were I and the king my husband to oppose, we should be in danger of losing our crown, as well as all pretensions we may have elsewhere, unless we are aided by one of the great princes of Christendom.

Having duly considered this, as likewise the constancy you have displayed in your kingdoms, and with what firmness you have supported, more than any other prince, those who have depended on your favour, we have determined upon addressing ourselves to you in preference to any other, to solicit your advice, and to strengthen ourselves with your aid and support. To obtain this, we have despatched to you this English gentleman, a Catholic and a faithful servant of the king my husband and myself, with ample directions to give you an account of the state of our affairs, which he is well acquainted with; and we beg you to believe him as you would do ourselves, and to send him back as soon as possible; for occasions are so urgent, that it is of importance both for the crown and the liberty of the church; to maintain which, we will risk our lives and our kingdom, provided we are assured of your assistance and advice.

After kissing your hands, I pray God to give you, monsieur my good brother, every prosperity and felicity.

From Glasgow, this x of September.

Your very good sister,

MARY R.

The letter was sent on 10 September 1565

This translation is taken from Agnes Strickland, *Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots and Documents connected with her Personal History, now first published and with an introduction*, 3 vols (London, 1842-3), I, 16 & 17.

Appendix 4

Copy of letter addressed to Major Elliot, Under Secretary of State at the Scottish Office from Mr James L. Anderson, enclosing a petition regarding Immigration from the Irish Free State. (Taken from SRO File HH1/544, SO File 32693/8)

11, Elcho Road,
Longniddry,
Haddingtonshire.

20 February 1927

Dear Sir,

Please receive enclosed signatures of persons in Petition to Parliament for Restriction of Immigration and Deportation of Immigrants who become chargeable to the Parochial Authorities within 5 years. This is the resolution that was passed at Edinburgh, Paisley and Airdrie recently – about the beginning of November last.

As a private individual I was driven by force of circumstances to notice the 'Irish Invasion' and to observe the drain on the pecuniary resources of Scotland as well as the deteriorating influence through indolence & crime.

1 I was appalled to find that Irish foremen in the mines do their best to put Irish in the coal mines in preference to Scotch – This I discovered from personal touch with a miner at Meadowmill, near Tranent.

2 The Irish Roman Catholics are trying to capture the management of Co-operative Stores. I am told by several persons in Musselburgh that during one week about 400 joined the Musselburgh Branch in order to secure a majority of Pro-Irishmen on the Board of Management. Fortunately they failed – but no doubt they will 'try again'.

I would beg to draw your attention to Musselburgh and Tranent where the tide has begun to rise. As I hear you are Sir, at heart a loyal Scotsman, I have confidence in enclosing this Petition as evidence from an unsalaried worker, that we in the East, are beginning to feel the appalling seriousness of this question and we wish you every success & good wish in the prosecution of your efforts to secure National Economy.

I beg to remain,
Yours very sincerely,
'James L. Anderson'

Appendix 4

PS Since writing I heard last night that at one of the mills in Musselburgh they are 'sacking' all the Protestants and taking on Roman Catholic workers.

The thing is most unfair and a perfect scandal.

JLA

PS Please excuse blots, but I beg to say that I received many of the names at the doors of houses. It would be a favour to have a note of acknowledgement of receipt and to know the Petition would reach 'His Majesty's Government'.

JLA

Petition Headed

We the undersigned ratepayers hereby petition His Majesty's Government in view of the great amount of unemployment in Scotland, and in particular having regard to the serious displacement of Scottish people by alien races, resolve to urge upon His Majesty's Government the necessity of regulating immigration from outside the United Kingdom into Scotland, such regulation to affect immigrants from the Free State, who become chargeable to parochial authorities and have not been for at least five years settled in Scotland shall be deported to the country of their origin.

Other countries have restricted and regulated immigration according to available work etc. Ex United States. Mr Michael McCarthy stated on October 26th that the Free State is over run by Germans and the proper name for that state is 'The Irish Papal State'.

Rev. Duncan Cameron stated that Scottish people were sending out the flowers of their youth and taking in the weeds of the Emerald Isle.

One half of the crime in Scotland was committed by the Irish Roman Catholics.

The Irish Roman Catholics leaned upon their Parish Councils, Education Authorities and their Charities.

Glasgow Education Authority pays RC Church £25,000 a year for lease of RC schools a year (sic). Every year Roman Catholic teachers of Glasgow receive £283,023 expenditure per annum, rates, taxes, fuel, light, cleaning, Book Stationery and repairs reaches a sum of £107,225. Annual Payment out of Ratepayers Money in Glasgow alone £415,248.

Note 132 signatures of persons with addresses in the Lothians and Fife.

Appendix 5

Religious Politics

A special feature of Edinburgh municipal politics was the Protestant Action Party. This began in the early 1930s when there was acute unemployment and suffering in working class areas. Mr John Cormack discovered that a few Catholic Irishmen were helping others to obtain jobs, and therefore launched a passionate campaign against 'the Papist Conspiracy'. At first Protestant action turned cleverly on both sides, accusing the Labour Party of being permeated by Catholics and Progressives of owning slum property, and by 1937 had won a dozen seats. As the war and full employment took the fire out of anti-catholicism its leading exponent, John Cormack, slowly shifted his ground concentrating his attacks on Labour and moving into a virtual alliance with the Progressives. By the 1950's he was left as the sole representative of his Party. A man of fabulous stamina, the Councillor spoke for two hours every Sunday afternoon at the foot of the Mound for 30 years, and in his heyday also held an indoor meeting at 6pm before speaking for another two hours at the Mound in the evening.

David Keir, ed., *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, The City of Edinburgh* (Glasgow, 1966), pp. 314-5.

Protestant Action Society

ELECTORS IN EDINBURGH

The above Party want to smash the Labour Party.
Why?

Because the Labour Party have been helped by the Papists with **their Block Vote**. *Catholic Herald*, October 1936 — "Without the solid support of the Catholic Vote, Labour would never have reached its present influence." No Labour Leader has repudiated that. 'Nuff said!!

Taken from the *Diocesan Record*, official publication of London Papists, "With Catholics it is religion first, and Politics after," and the majority of Papists are in Labour!! Again, *Catholic Herald*, 29th December, Archbishop A. J. McDonald, "Going further, the power of the 750,000 Catholics in Scotland would have immense influence on current tendencies," and the majority are in the Labour Party!!

From *Evening Dispatch*, reporting a gentleman who was in the Labour Party for many years, Councillor Muter, "The action of the Trades and Labour Council is in keeping with the **General Intolerance** that is rapidly pervading the Labour Party, and now it remains for all thinking men and women to examine their position."

Come to our Meetings, ask questions on
all points that will be put forward by the
Popish-Labour-Party.

If satisfied, vote Protestant "Action," help
us towards our Goal, viz. :—

A PROTESTANT MAJORITY COUNCIL

PROGRESS ASSIDUITY STEADFASTNESS

Appendix 7

No. 4 Get the other Three.

THE BIBLE SAYS . . .

CORMACK SAYS . . .

BURNS WROTE:

"Man to man the world o'er shall brothers be an' a' that."



Be a Burns Man

Vote Labour

Appendix 8

Protestant Action Society

"Liberty and Justice"

SCOT
16 MA
OFF

16 27

President ... J. AITCHISON
Vice-President ... JAMES MARR
Treasurer ... A. PAXTON
Organising Secretary—
Councillor JOHN CORMACK

All Correspondence should be addressed to
Secretary

We do not proscribe a Romanist in politics
because of his religion, but because his religion
makes it impossible for him to loyally serve
his country when the civil law conflicts with
the ecclesiastical. Do you get that?

Meetings—

Sunday—Open-Air, Mound, 2.30
Indoors 7.30

Open-Air—at Antiquaries

Office—11 ALBANY STREET

Edinburgh, 14, th, May, 1900

Sir Godfrey Collins,

Secretary for Scotland.

Dear Sir,

The answer which you gave to Dr. O'Donovan, M.P.

in the House of Commons, in connection with the recent Protestant

Demonstration in Edinburgh, was reported in the "Daily Express",

100/13E

I noted it, and hasten to assure You, Sir, that when, and where

the popish Authorities openly propagate their blasphemous

doctrine, we, the Protestants of Edinburgh will turn out in

Protest, despite the assurance you gave the House to the

contrary. We are Protestant Actionists, not jelly-fish.

If the papists are allowed to hold a Eucharistic Congress

in June, 30, or 40 thousand Protestants will know the reason

why. I am quoting here-with from popish Papers, the Universe

Appendix 8

Protestant Action Society

"Liberty and Justice"

President ... J. AITCHISON
 Vice-President ... JAMES MARR
 Treasurer ... A. PAXTON
 Organising Secretary—
 JOHN CORMACK

All Correspondence should be addressed to
 Secretary

*We do not proscribe a Romanist in politics
 because of his religion, but because his religion
 makes it impossible for him to loyally serve
 his country when the civil law conflicts with
 the ecclesiastical. Do you get that?*

Meetings—

Sunday—Open-Air, Mound, 2.30 p.m.
 Indoors 7.30 "
 Open-Air—as Advertised

Office—11 ALBANY STREET

Edinburgh, 193

Page 2.

and the Catholic Herald, to prove to you the D E C E I T of the
 popish Authorities here in Scotland. in a letter, dated , Cathedral
 House, York Place, Edinburgh, May, 4th, Mgr, McGettigan, writes, "the
 Congress, is not to be, and never was intended to be, an international,
 congress, nor even a national one." "The Congress is for the Catholics
 of Edinburgh"— I read in the Universe, dated, May, 10th, this, "Special
 arrangements are being made in all Districts of the East of
 Scotland, for Catholics to take part in the Congress, which is the
 First of it's kindever held in the country. Many will also take
 part in the ceremonies from Glasgow and the West." Is this for
 Edinburgh catholics only?, in the light of the fore-going?

I trust You Sir, will realise, there is some-thing "fishy" about
 the so-called Congress. We must Demonstrate and Protest.

I remain,

Always a 100% Protestant,

John Cormack.

(Councillor)

The Scotsman 12 July 1935

A CATHOLIC PROTEST

The Recent Edinburgh Disturbances

ARCHBISHOP'S APPEAL

HIS GRACE ARCHBISHOP, McDONALD, of St Andrews and Edinburgh, has issued the following statement to the Press with reference to the recent anti-Catholic demonstrations in Edinburgh:—

The Eucharistic Congress, which was recently held in Edinburgh has received more than normal prominence owing to the unreasoning storm of prejudice which for some months has been raging in the city.

About the events of that week-end much has been written and still more has been said. It is not my intention to deal with these statements in detail, but there is one side of the question to which I should like specially to direct attention.

The Eucharistic Congress was purely a domestic concern affecting Catholics alone. No intimations regarding it were published in the non-Catholic Press, and indeed—looking to the nature of the services and the meetings—the attendance of non-Catholics was not desired. In the choice of hall and site for the meetings we were guided merely by the necessity of supplying sufficient accommodation for the numbers expected to attend. In all possible respects we did our utmost to consider the feelings of non-Catholics. At the same time we claimed our right as citizens to meet in a public hall large enough to accommodate our members, and to hold what functions we chose on our own property. The Civic Authorities fully recognised that right, and for their efforts during those troublous days we very cordially thank them.

"SERIOUS FEATURES"

There are, however, many serious features in connection with the past few months with which the general public may not be entirely familiar, but which are of the gravest concern to the welfare and peace of the community.

For months past Catholics have been subjected to a campaign of vilification, calumny, and savagery that would be difficult to parallel in these days of enlightenment and progress. Not only has the Catholic Church been abused, misrepresented, and slandered, but many of the most respected Catholic citizens have been calumniated, and even accused of the most abominable crimes. The office which I have the honour to hold has been the object of gross insult and of the vilest accusations. For some time it has hardly been possible for a priest to appear in the city without being subjected to unspeakable indignities. They have been not only the target for vile abuse and most filthy and obscene language, but they have repeatedly been spat upon and molested in the public streets. In the factories and public works Catholic employees, and particularly defenceless girls, have suffered bitter persecution, as contemptible as it is cowardly, and strenuous efforts have been made to induce employers to dismiss Catholics on the ground of their religion alone.

Furthermore, the shameful public events which have recently disfigured the fair fame of Edinburgh are still fresh in the minds of all—the riotous tumult that welcomed the Catholic Young Men's Society at the City Chambers on the occasion of the civic reception, and again on the Sunday at the Cathedral; the further outbursts at the Cathedral when the Catholics assembled to hold their thanksgiving service for the King on Jubilee Day; and the outrageous insult publicly offered to Mr Lyons, the Prime Minister of Australia.

"ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE"

Yet these were but the prelude to the incredible outburst of insensate hate that was called forth by the Eucharistic Congress. Priests were savagely assaulted, elderly women attacked and kicked, bus-loads of children mercilessly stoned, and inoffensive citizens abused and assailed in a manner that is almost unbelievable in any civilised community of to-day.

During all this campaign of attack and persecution, the self-restraint of the Catholic body has been beyond all praise. In particular, at the concluding service of the Congress, had that forbearance not been heroically sustained, bloodshed would undoubtedly have ensued. There are limits to human endurance, and if the continuance of these conditions leads to dangerous public dispeace, then the disastrous consequences cannot be laid at the door of the Catholic body.

The disgraceful scenes to which I have referred have become known in every quarter of the globe, and have sullied the fair name of a city which once was justly regarded as a leader in all culture, thought, and civilisation. It seems to me that the public of the capital of Scotland cannot regard such a result with equanimity. I am certain that the bulk of the citizens, fair-minded and enlightened as I know them to be, must when the facts are brought to their knowledge regard with abhorrence the actions of what, after all, is a mob of the lowest elements in the city, supported by importees of a similar class from other parts of the country.

LAW-ABIDING CITIZENS

But the question which faces all who have the interests of the city at heart is—Can this mob-rule be allowed to continue? It is undoubtedly the outcome of a campaign not merely of vilification and slander (which one could afford to ignore coming from the quarter it does), but of open and avowed incitement to riot and disorder. It is common knowledge that this campaign has been carried on for months in the public streets and

halls of the city. In its latest phase its openly declared policy has been to prevent, by unrestrained physical violence, the attendance of law-abiding citizens at functions at which they are legitimately entitled to be present.

If this campaign is allowed to continue we can only look for a continuance of the disgusting conduct of which I complain, and for outbreaks of a more serious nature than those I have mentioned. It is for responsible citizens, and for those to whom the maintenance of peace and order in the community is committed, to say whether they are to court a repetition of those regrettable outbursts of mob-fury which have disgraced the city in the eyes of the world in recent months, or to take effectual steps to prevent them.

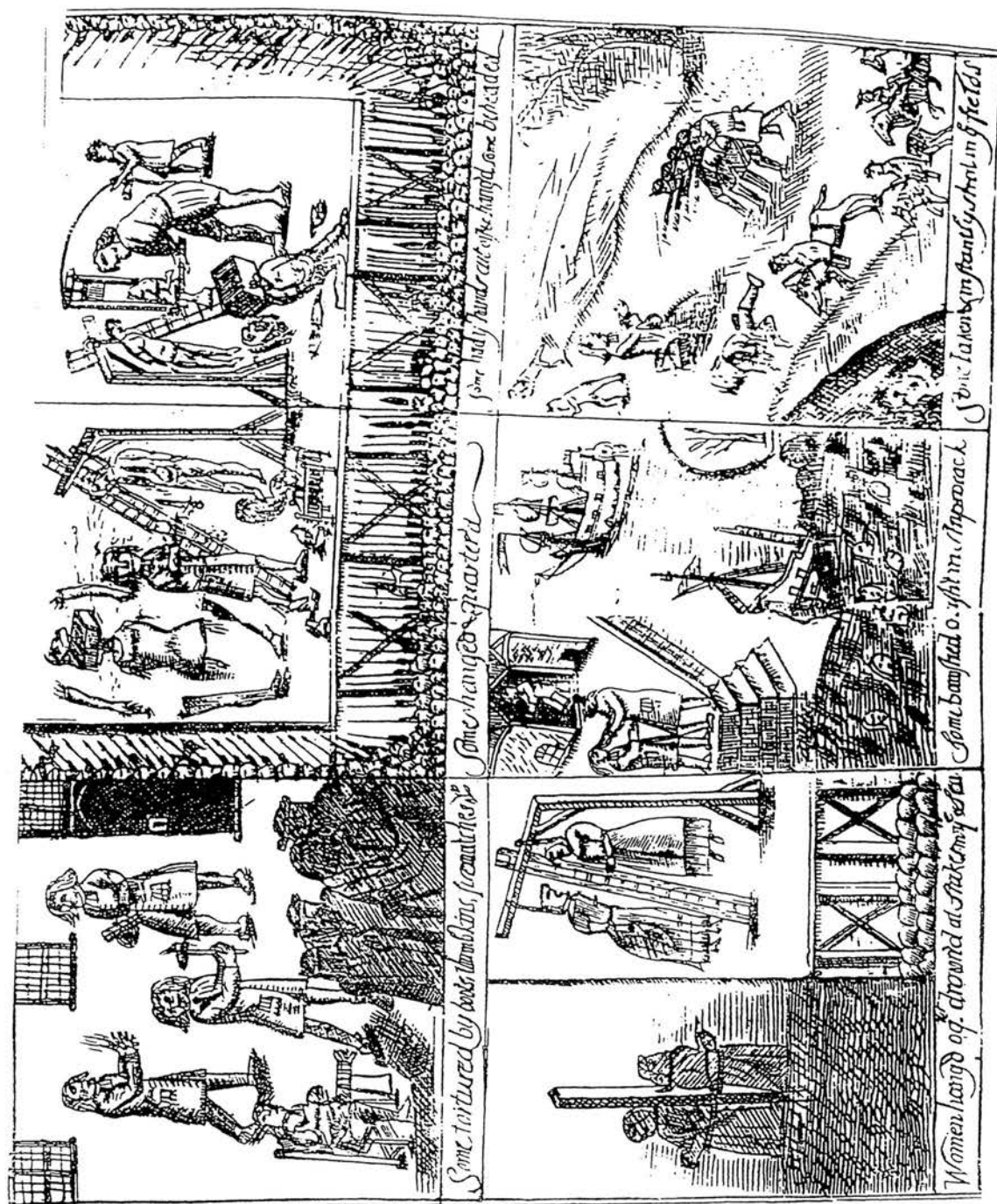
I leave it there for the present.

Appendix 11

Map of Central Edinburgh including Grassmarket



Appendix 12

Frontispiece of *A Cloud of Witnesses*

Appendix 13

NOTE OF RECOLLECTIONS OF JOHN CORMACK AT NEWHAVEN IN THE 1930s

George Hackland, born Newhaven 30.9.1920 and still living there on the day of the interview, Thursday 14.9.00. Started an engineering apprenticeship in 1936. Was in the merchant navy during the 1939-1945 war. Father and grandfather were trawler skippers. His forebears were originally from Orkney and he can trace his family back for 450 years. They were of Scandinavian descent.

George remembers the hard times of the people of Leith and Newhaven in the 1930s. There was a lot of poverty although it was ameliorated to some extent for Newhaven by the availability of fish from the landings at the harbour. Nearly every family had a relation or knew someone on the boats. Unemployment or the threat of unemployment was an ever-present problem. Means testing for benefits was resented. There was a fairly widespread belief that only Roman Catholics could get employment in the Edinburgh Corporation lighting and cleansing department. It was also thought that once Roman Catholics had a foothold in any employment, more would follow.

Church attendance was high in Newhaven, about 90% attended the two Protestant churches, the Church of Scotland parish church and the old United Free Church on the harbour road. The Band of Hope and other Protestant meetings were popular during the week. There were few Roman Catholics living locally, really just the owners of the ice-cream shops and their families. The children of these families attended the local Victoria Primary School proceeding to Roman Catholic schools for secondary education. They did not take bible class but sat in the corridor, with the children of two Communist families, reading books.

There was no feeling against Roman Catholics personally. St Patrick's day, also known as 'Scotch or Irish?' day was an occasion for boisterous fun for youngsters wielding balls of paper etc on the end of string for the challenge but posed no danger to anyone. There were some problems. An RC wishing to attend the wedding of a Protestant friend had to have a dispensation to enter a Protestant church and was instructed not to read the bible provided there. The senior professional football club in Leith, Hibernian, was regarded as a RC team. Some prominent employers, such as T.H. Devlin, the trawler owner, were RC.

George remembers John Cormack speaking at Newhaven and at the Mound. In Newhaven he addressed meetings of some 50 or 60 at the Halley, an area of open ground by the kipper houses next to the harbour. The usual stance was in front of Thomas H. Scales yard where Cormack stood on a fish box to address his audience. He spoke on

matters which were of concern to the people of Newhaven and Edinburgh generally – employment, housing, education - and related the problems for Scotland in all these areas to the number of Irish RCs in the country. Without them unemployment could be reduced to a low figure. Overcrowding and slum properties were due to the same cause. Separate schools for RCs were pernicious and caused unnecessary expense. In Edinburgh he blamed the corporation's employment policy for the number of RCs in the lighting and cleansing department. His complaints about the running of the Corporation's transport department were really based on his belief that the managers were RCs and favoured their co-religionists for employment.

Cormack's meetings at the Mound were attended by hundreds and the content of speeches was fairly constant - employment, housing and schools – interspersed with stories of the perfidies of the RC Church and claims that priests told RCs who to vote for at elections. All of the meetings whether at the Mound or at the Halley ended with a call 'One, Two, Three – NO POPERY' to which the crowds responded enthusiastically.

As regards the business of priests telling RCs how to vote, George recalls an occasion during his apprenticeship when he was working on the premises of a Leith employer, Barry, who was an RC. A priest came into the building and in conversation with the proprietor revealed that he had come to instruct the employees (RCs) on voting at the election. Mr Barry told him to leave adding that if they could not make up their own minds they should not have the vote.

George also remembered Cormack after the war when he continued for many years as a respected member of the town council. He was considered a very good representative, taking up causes for anyone with a problem, even people who did not live in the ward he represented.

Appendix 14

Mr James G. MacLean, 12 James Street, Joppa, Edinburgh, EH15 2DT
County Grand Master, County Grand Lodge of the East, Loyal Orange Institution
of Scotland, Junior Depute Grand Master of Scotland
Member of Cormack's Protestant Defenders L.O.L. 188 (formerly Portobello True
Blues)
Member of the Protestant Action Society and a close friend of John Cormack

Interview 1 June 2001

Mr MacLean was born into a Leith family in 1945 and was brought up in Tolbooth Wynd and other addresses in Leith. Although he now lives in Joppa he retains connections and an affection for his birthplace. He knew Cormack from the 1950's. Both his own and his wife's families were supporters of the PAS. He made the point that women were strongly represented in the PAS. His wife, her mother, and her grandmother were all members of the society.

Although not a tall man, Cormack had 'presence'. He was always well turned out, suit, tie and polished shoes, which Mr Maclean put down to his military training. Unfailingly courteous and attentive to his constituents he had throughout his political career a deserved reputation as an honest and effective council representative. He was well informed on current affairs, being a keen reader of newspapers including the Catholic press. As regards anti-Roman Catholicism, Mr MacLean stressed that it was the political influence of the RC Church that Cormack opposed so vehemently. He had no animosity for ordinary Roman Catholics.

Cormack's relationship with the Orange Order was strained at times. As a member of the Portobello Lodge he had been influential and his failure to obtain reinstatement after his resignation was something of a mystery. Perhaps it was the result of 'politicking' at higher levels. Eventually, with the help of Rev. Allan Hasson, a prominent member of the order, he was able to rejoin in the late 1950's. The Portobello lodge was renamed in his memory after his death in 1978.

Mr MacLean heard Cormack speak many times, at street meetings and in halls. At street meetings he began speaking quite quietly, raising his voice as the crowd built up. He never used amplification equipment, being able to project his voice effectively to large gatherings. Criticism has been made of Cormack's lack of formal education and deficiencies in his letter writing but his oratory could not be criticised in the same way. It was fluent, well organised and, of course, very effective. In his speeches he made frequent reference to the history of Protestantism – the Reformation, John Knox, the early martyrs, the Covenanters and the Jesuits, finding parallels in current actions of the Church of Rome, all as part of the build up to condemnation of contemporary Roman Catholicism.

Appendix 15

Constance (Connie) Jamieson – Interview on 22 February 2001

Born in George Street, Leith 18.1.25. where her grandmother lived next door with her uncles and aunts. Subsequently lived in Hawthorn Bank, just a short distance away. Her great grandfather was a farm worker on a farm on the site of Victoria Park in Leith. The foundations of the farm cottages where he lived are still visible. She has lived in Leith all of her life.

Connie was baptised in Harper Memorial Church in Coburg Street, Leith where she was married to 'the boy next door'. The church was an important centre of her life for Sunday school and church organisations, the Brownies and Guides. At age 14 she played the piano for Greenwood, the junior section of the Girls Guildry. Later she became a leader and continued in that role for several years. At nineteen she took the younger girls to camp at Nine Mile Burn in the Pentlands.

Because not all the families of the children in the Guildry could afford the price of uniforms, supplies of blouses and sashes were kept for loan on formal occasions. A notable feature of the church organisation was a mission hall near the church building for services for poorer people who could not afford to dress appropriately for attendance at church. The mission also ran a Sunday school. Throughout her life Connie has been active in the Church of Scotland and is now an elder of Wardie Church. Harper Memorial Church was demolished in the 1960's.

One of Connie's duties as leader was to go to see Greenwood members when they were ill and this occasioned visits to dwellings in Couper Street, Admiralty Street, East and West Cromwell Street and Sandport Street. With the exception of Sandport Street, which was an area of superior tenements, these were among the worst slums in Leith. Accommodation usually consisted of a room and kitchen. The streets were teeming with children.

In the Tolbooth Wynd area room and kitchen dwellings were most common. In a tenement there might be four dwellings per landing, each having one cold water tap. The four families shared one lavatory on the landing. In one instance there were thirty people in the four dwellings on a landing.

An acquaintance of Connie, Mrs Banks, age 82 and now living in Victoria Manor Nursing Home in Albert Street, Leith, lived in Water Street, at the foot of the Kirkgate, when she was young. Her people had a greengrocer shop and their home, for a family of thirteen, was the usual room and kitchen dwelling situated behind the shop. Her father shared a room with the boys, her mother with the girls. There was an outdoor lavatory. In this area men either worked in the docks or were unemployed.

Mrs Banks recalls being bullied as a girl because of her religion. Her family were RCs.

Poverty was the common lot in Leith. An indication of how poor people were is that it was common practice for women to take a dish to the local shop to buy a halfpenny worth of jam served from a large earthenware jar.

I had asked Connie if she had ever heard of the Irish Barracks. She had no personal knowledge of any such place but two older male acquaintances did remember that when the Scots Greys cavalry regiment vacated their barracks at Piershill the buildings were taken over as lodgings for Irish labourers brought in for the many construction projects in and around the town.

John Jamieson

Connie's husband was a deep-sea sailor nearly all of his working life. His family came from Shetland, one of many from the northern islands who settled in Leith. Among the men of these families it was common to follow the sea for a living as merchant seamen, fishermen or whalers. He remembered the days when seamen sought accommodation for their families in places like Henderson Street, within sight of the Shore area of the docks where their vessels might berth. In these days most people in Leith lived, worked, shopped and socialised all within walking distance. It was a self-contained town with a well-defined character of its own.

One of his early memories is of his father being the one man in the tenement where they lived who had a suit. It was borrowed by other male residents, of varying sizes, to attend funerals. Even an approximate fit was not a requirement. Respectability was.

Anent the Protestant Action Society

The Corner Rooms at the junction of Ferry Road and North Junction Street were the Protestant Action Society committee rooms from which the Leith election campaigns were launched. They were also a social centre for party members and others and were well used. Ferry Road was the start of an area of superior tenements, some a northern extension of Edinburgh's New Town, and some even grander nineteenth century houses.

General note

Connie is a member of the Leith History Society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Official Archives

National Archives of Scotland
 Scottish Office Files
 Hope Papers
 Henry Robb Ltd

Edinburgh City Archives

Edinburgh Corporation, Town Clerk's Department, File No. 4, Letting – Usher Hall,
 1st October 1935 – 31st December 1949.

Minutes of the Treasurer's Committee, October 1934 –
 November 1935 and October 1935 – November 1936.

Lord Provost Committee Minutes 1934-39.

Report of the State of Crime and the Police Establishment of
 the County of the City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh
 1935-39.

Official Publications

Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, Vol. I, 1124-1423 Vol. II, 1424-1567. Printed by
 command of His Majesty King George the Third in pursuance of an address of the
 House of Commons of Great Britain, 1814.

Census of Population, Scotland

Census of Population, Great Britain

*City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh, Report on Overcrowding by the Medical Officer
 of Health and Sanitary Inspector (Edinburgh, 1936).*

Civic Survey and Plan for the City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh, prepared
 for the Town Council by Patrick Abercrombie and Derek Plumstead
 (Edinburgh, 1949),

Hansard

Ministry of Labour, Annual Report for 1931, Cmd 4044.

Ministry of Labour, Local Unemployment Index, 1932 – 1939.

Proceedings of the House of Commons 1779.

Report of the Board of Supervision of the Poor Law 1893.

Reports from Commissioners, 1843, XXII.

Report of the Royal Commission on Housing of the Working Classes (Scotland),
PP 1884-5.

Report from the Select Committee on Manufacturers, Commerce and Shipping,
1833, VI.

Reports from the Commissioners on Mining Districts, 2 vols, The Irish University Press
series of British Parliamentary Papers (Dublin, 1971).

Third Statistical Account of Scotland, The City of Edinburgh, ed. David Keir (Glasgow, 1966).

The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Stirling, ed., G. T. Crouther
(Glasgow, 1966).

Votes of the House of Commons (London, 1680).

Periodicals and Newspapers

Belfast News-Letter

Blackwood's Magazine

Bulwark

Daily Record and Mail

Dumfries and Galloway Standard

Dundee Courier and Advertiser

Edinburgh Evening Courant

Edinburgh Evening Dispatch

Edinburgh Evening News

Edinburgh and Leith Observer

Edinburgh Review

Glasgow Herald

Monthly Newsletter of the Protestant Alliance with which is associated the Scottish Protestant Alliance

Protestant 'Action'

Protestant Telegraph

Rambler

Scotsman

Times

Whittaker's Almanack

Reference Works

British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975.

Delaney, J.J., and J.E. Tobin, *Dictionary of Catholic Bibliography* (London, 1962).

Garraty, John A. and Mark C. Carnes, *American National Biography*, vol. 21 (New York, 1999).

Goring, R., ed., *Chambers Scottish Biographical Dictionary* (Edinburgh, 1992).

Journals

Dublin Review

The Historical Journal

The Innes Review

Intelligence and National Security

International Review of Social History

Past and Present. A journal of historical studies

Records of the Scottish Church History Society

Scottish Economic and Social History

Scottish Historical Review

Social History

Institutional Records

Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842, reprinted from the original edition under the superintendence of the Church Law Society (Edinburgh, 1843).

The Scottish Catholic Archive
Edinburgh Diocesan Statistics 1933.
Edinburgh Parish Census 1943.
Ad Clerums

The Catholic Directory for the Clergy and Laity in Scotland.

Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with the legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly.

Edinburgh Irish Mission, Annual Reports, 1851 & 1852

Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory 1935.

Labour Party Annual Conference, Edinburgh 1936 (London, 1936).

The Knox Club, Annual Reports 1910 – 1917.

The Knox Club Publications, 3 vols.

Orange Order

Reports of Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland.
Minutes of the Monthly Meetings of the Grand Orange Lodge Committee.

Protestant Truth Society, *Annual Report 1939-40* (London, 1940).

Pamphlets

An Abstract of the Bloody Massacre in Ireland. Acted by the Instigation of the Jesuits,

Priests and Friars who were chief Promoters of those horrible Murders, Prodigious Cruelties, barbarous Villainies, and Inhuman Practices, executed by the Irish Papists upon the English Protestants in the Year 1641. And intended to have been acted over again on Sabbath Day, December the 9th 1688. But by the wonderful Providence of God was prevented (Glasgow, 1779).

Brewster, P., *War a Crime, Self-Defence a Duty and other Discourses* (Paisley, 1853).

Candlish, Robert S., *The Aims, the Principles and the Work of the Scottish Reformation Society* (Edinburgh, 1891).

Cheyne, A.C., *The Ten Years Conflict and the Disruption* (Edinburgh, 1993).

Clark, Samuel, *The Gunpowder Treason, Being a Remembrancer to England of that Ancient Deliverance from that Horrid Plot hatched by the Bloody Papists, 1605* (London, 1775).

Coulton, G.G., *Divorce, Mr Belloc and The Daily Telegraph* (Taunton, 1937).

Douglas, Fred, *The Protestant Movement X-Rayed* (Edinburgh, 1937).

Douglas, Fred, *Lets Spend a Million* (Edinburgh, 1938).

Douglas, Fred, *Whose Edinburgh?* (Edinburgh, 1938).

Fleming, David Hay, *Illustrations of Antichrist Rejoicing over the Massacre of St Bartholemew, No. 29 of The Knox Club Publications* (Edinburgh, 1912).

Freeman, C.R. Boyd, *On Trial for Treason, An Indictment of Roman Catholic Doctrine and Behaviour* (London, 1930).

A Friendly Debate between Dr. Kingsman, a Dissatisfied Clergy-man, and Gratianus Trimmer, a Neighbour Minister concerning the Late Thanksgiving-Day; the Prince's Descent into England; the Nobility and Gentries joining with him; The Acts of the Honourable Convention; the Nature of our English Government; the Secret League with France; the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy etc. (London, 1869).

Gair, G.R., *The Irish Immigration Question in Britain*, reprint from *The Evangelical Quarterly*, January 1934 (London, 1934).

Glorious Speech of His R. H. the Duke of York, broadside printed in London by Benbow, Printer and Publisher, 252 High Holborn, London, c1832.

Interesting Speech of His Royal Highness the Duke of York, Birt, Printer, 10, Great St Andrew Street, c1830.

The Knox Club, A New Protestant Movement to Work for Scotland, reprinted from *Edinburgh Peoples Journal* (Edinburgh, 1909).

A Letter from a Jesuit at Paris to his Correspondent in London Shewing the most effective way to ruine the Government and Protestant Religion (London, 1679).

Manifesto of the Scottish Protestant Alliance; or Reasons for an Enlarged Basis of Union and Action for the Overthrow of Popery in Every Form (Edinburgh, 1854).

Mason, Roger A., *The Glasgow Assembly 1638*, Glasgow Cathedral Lecture Series 2 (Glasgow, 1988).

Paton, James, *A Bird's Eye view of British History in Relation to Papal Claims* (Edinburgh, 1892).

Primmer, Jacob, *Mr Charleson's 'Why I Left the Church of Scotland' or The Secret Romanising 'Scottish Church Society' Exposed* (Dunfermline, 1901).

The Principles of Religious Liberty and Law of Toleration (Edinburgh, L19thC).

Protestant Truth Society, *Campion-Parsons Invasion Plot 1580* (London, 1937).

Ratcliffe, Alexander, *The Truth about the Jews*, BPL Truth Series: No. 4 (Glasgow, 1943).

Ratcliffe, Alexander, *The Truth about Hitler and the Roman Catholic Church* (Glasgow, 1943).

Recent Facts Showing How Popery Treats the Civil Rights of Protestants at the Present Day (London, 1858).

Scottish Association for Opposing Prevalent Errors, *Popery and its Cognate Superstitions* (Edinburgh, 1848).

Scottish Reformation Society, *Address to the Electors of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1852).

Scottish Reformation Society, *The Jesuit Invasion* (Edinburgh, 1902).

Smiles, Samuel, *Romish Plots Against Great Britain* (An extract from *The Huguenots: the Settlement, Churches and Industries in England and Wales*, 2nd ed., (London, 1867), printed for The Scottish Reformation Society (Edinburgh, 1869).

Stevenson, David, *The Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland*, Saltire Pamphlets new series 11 (Edinburgh, 1988).

Summary of the Proceedings in the House of Commons on the Petition of the Roman Catholics in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and of the Debates which took Place on that Affair (London, 1779).

Thomson, George M., *Porpoise Pamphlets No. 1, Will the Scottish Church Survive* (Edinburgh, 1930).

Walker, George, *A True Account of the Siege of Londonderry* (London, 1689).

Wylie, J.A., *What the Sixteenth Century says to the Nineteenth* (Edinburgh, 1891).

Yates, Nigel, *The Oxford Movement and Anglian Ritualism* (London, 1983).

Contemporary Sources

Amherst, W.J., *The History of Catholic Emancipation*, 2 vols (London, 1886).

Anderson, William, *No Ordinary Man: William Anderson's Edinburgh Journal with a Canadian Epilogue* (Edinburgh, 1986).

Arnot, Hugo, *The History of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1998), first published 1779.

Baillie, Robert, *Letters and Journals: Containing an Impartial Account of Public Transactions...from the beginning of the Civil Wars in 1637, to the year 1662*, transcribed by Robert Aitken (Edinburgh, 1775).

Barclay, Irene T., and Evelyn E. Perry, *Behind Princess Street – A Contrast, Report on Survey of Housing Conditions of 443 families situated in St Andrew's Ward, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1931).

Bell, George, *Day and Night in the Wynds of Edinburgh, and Blackfriar's Wynd Analysed*, originally published 1849, reprinted 1973 with a new introduction by G.H. Martin (Wakefield, 1973).

Blakeney, Richard P., *Protestant Catechism or Popery refuted and Protestantism Established by the word of God* (Edinburgh, 1935).

Brown, I.G., *Witness to Rebellion: John Maclean's Journal of the 'Forty-Five and the Penicuik Drawings* (East Linton, 1996).

Buchanan, George, *The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stewart: George Buchanan's Account*, translated and edited by W.A. Gatherer (Edinburgh, 1958).

Buchanan, George, *The Art and Science of Government among the Scots, being George Buchanan's 'De Jure Regni Apud Scotos'*, translation and commentary by Duncan H. MacNeill (Glasgow, 1964).

Cadoux, Cecil John, *Roman Catholicism and Freedom* (London, 1936).

Camden, William, *The History of the most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England* (London, 1675).

Cameron, James K., ed., *The First Book of Discipline* (Edinburgh, 1972).

Care, Henry, *The History of the Damnable Popish Plot, In its Various Branches and Progress* (London, 1681).

Clarendon, Edward, Earl of, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England begun in the year 1641*, re-edited from a fresh collation of the original ms. in the Bodleian Library, with marginal dates and occasional notes, by W. Dunn Macray, 6 vols (Oxford, 1888).

Cattley, Stephen Reed, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, with a preliminary dissertation by George Townsend, 3 vols (London, 1841).

Church Law Society, *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1638-1842* (Edinburgh, 1843).

Coke, Lord, *The English Experience: Its Record in Early Printed Books, Published in Facsimile: The Lord Coke, his Speech and Charge*, Published in London, 1607 (New York, 1972).

Donaldson, Gordon, *Scottish Historical Documents* (Edinburgh, 1974).

Ellis, Philip, and others, *Sermons*, (London, 1686).

Ferguson, James, ed., *The Declaration of Arbroath* (Edinburgh, 1970).

Forbes-Leith, William, ed., *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI. Now first printed from the original manuscripts in the secret archives of the Vatican and other collections* (London, 1889).

Forbes-Leith, William, ed., *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries. Selected from hitherto inedited mss* (London, 1909).

Gardiner, S.R., ed., *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660*, selected and edited, 3rd edition, revised (London, 1958).

Gibb, Andrew Dewar, *Scotland in Eclipse* (London, 1930).

Gillespie, George, *A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies Obtruded on the Church of Scotland*, reprinted from an edition of 1660 (Edinburgh, 1842).

Goodman, Christopher, *How Superior Powers ought to be Obeyed of their Subjects: and wherein they may lawfully by Gods Worde be disobeyed and resisted. Wherein also is declared the cause of all this present miserie in England, and the only way to remedy the same*, first published in Geneva in 1558, published in Facsimile as No. 460, *The English Experience, Its Record in Early Printed Books* (New York, 1972).

Haller, William, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London, 1963).

Jamie, David, *John Hope Philanthropist and Reformer* (Edinburgh, 1900).

Kirk, James, ed., *The Second Book of Discipline* (Edinburgh, 1980).

Kirkton, James, *A History of the Church of Scotland 1660-1679*, edited and with an introduction by Ralph Stewart (New York, 1992).

Knox, John, *The Works of John Knox*, collected and edited by David Laing, 6 vols (Edinburgh, 1846-1864).

Knox, John, *The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, revised and edited by Cuthbert Lennox (London, 1905).

Knox, John, *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. by William Croft Dickinson, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1949).

Knox, John, *On Rebellion*, ed. by Roger A. Mason (Cambridge, 1994).

Knox, R.A., *The Belief of Catholics* (London, 1927).

Kyd, James Gray, ed., *Scottish Population Statistics including Webster's Analysis of Population 1755* (Edinburgh, 1975).

Lauder, Sir John, *Historical Notes of Scottish Affairs, Selected from the manuscripts of Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, Bart., one of the Senators of the Court of Justice, Vol II, 1683-1688* (Edinburgh, 1848).

Lauder, Sir John, Lord Fountainhall, *Chronological Notes of Scottish Affairs from 1660-1701* (Edinburgh, 1822).

Law, Robert, *Memorials or The Memorable Things that fell out within this Island of*

Britain from 1638 to 1684 edited from the ms by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (Edinburgh, 1818).

L'Estrange, Hamon, *The Reign of King Charles: An History Faithfully And Impartially delivered and disposed into Annals* (London, 1655).

Mackenzie, Sir George, *Jus Regium, or, the Just and Solid Foundations of Monarchy in General, and more especially of the Monarchy of Scotland; Maintained against Buchanan, Naphtali, Dolman, Milton etc.* (London, 1684).

Maitland, William, *The History of Edinburgh from the Foundation to the Present Time* (Edinburgh, 1753).

Major, John, *A History of Greater Britain as well England as Scotland. Compiled from Ancient Authorities by John Major, by name indeed a Scot, but by profession a Theologian 1521*, translated from the original Latin and Edited with Notes by Archibald Constable to which is prefaced a life of the Author by Aeneas J.G. Mackay, Publication of the Scottish History Society, Vol. X (Edinburgh, 1892).

Maseres, Francis, ed., *Select Tracts relating to the Civil Wars in England in the Reign of Charles I: by writers who lived in the time of these wars, and were witnesses to the events which they describe*, 2 vols (London, 1815).

Milnes, Nora, *A Study of Industrial Edinburgh and the Surrounding Area, 1923-1934, Vol. 1* (London, 1936).

Montague, Tho., *An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance against the two Breves of Pope Paulus Quintus and the late letter of Cardinal Bellarmine to G. Blackwell the Archpriest* (London, 1607).

Nimmo, James, *Narrative of Mr James Nimmo written for his own satisfaction to keep in some remembrance the Lord's way dealing and kindness towards him 1654-1709*, edited from the original manuscript with introduction and notes by W.G. Scott-Moncrieff, publication of the Scottish History Society, vol. VI (Edinburgh, 1889).

Ogilvie, Alan G., ed., *Great Britain Essays in Regional Geography by twenty-six authors*, with an introduction by Sir E.J. Russell (Cambridge, 1930; repr. 1953).

Orr, John Boyd, *Food, Health and Income: Report on a survey of adequacy of diet in relation to income* (London, 1936).

Orr, John Boyd, *As I Recall: The 1880's to 1960's* with an introduction by Professor Ritchie Calder (London, 1967).

Payne, Stanley G., *The History of Fascism 1914-1945* (London, 1955).

Pitcairn, Robert, *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland, compiled from the original records and mss with historical illustrations etc*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1833).

Pollen, J.H., ed., *Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots during her reign in Scotland 1561-1567*, edited from the original documents in the Vatican Archives and elsewhere, Scottish History Society, XXXVII (Edinburgh, 1901).

Primmer, Jacob, *Pastor Jacob Primmer, minister of Townhill Church of Scotland, Dunfermline in Rome, Naples and Florence in 1895* (London, 1897).

Primmer, J. Boyd, ed., *The Life of Jacob Primmer* (Edinburgh 1916).

Prynne, William, *The Treachery and Disloyalty of Papists to their Soverajngnes, in Doctrine and Practice, Together with the First Part of the Sovereigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes*, 2nd ed. enlarged (London, 1643).

Prynne, William, *The Sovereigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdoms* (London, 1643).

Prynne, William, *Romes Master-Peece or, The Grand Conspiracy of the Pope and his Jesuited Instruments, to extirpate the Protestant Religion, re-establish Popery, subvert Lawes, Liberties, Parliaments by kindling Civill War in Scotland, and all His Majesties Realms, and to poyson the King himself in case he comply not with their execrable Designs*, 2nd edn. (London, 1646)

Prynne, William, *The Popish Royal Favourite or, A Full Discovery of His Majesties Extraordinary Favours to, and Protections of notorious Papists, Priests, Jesuits against all prosecutions and penalties of the Laws enacted against them... As likewise a most desperate long prosecuted Designe to set up Popery, and extirpate the Protestant Religion, in this our Realme of England and all His Majesties Dominions manifested by sundry letters, warrants and other writings* (London, 1643).

Raymond, Joad, ed., *Making the News: An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England 1641-1660*, foreword by C. Hill (Gloucester, 1993).

Renwick, James & Alexander Shields, *An Informatory Vindication of a poor, wasted, misrepresented remnant of the suffering, anti-popish, anti-prelatick, anti-erastian, anti-sectarian true Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland* (Scotland, 1687).

Robertson, Sir Charles Grant, *Religion and the Totalitarian State, The Social Service Lecture 1937*, (London, 1937).

Rogers, D. M., ed., *English Recusant Literature 1558-1640* (Menston, Yorks, 1971).

Scott-Moncrieff, W.G., ed., *Justiciary Court Proceedings 1661-1678*, with introduction and notes, from a MS in possession of John W. Weston, 2 vols, publication of the Scottish History Society, vols LXVIII & XLIX (Edinburgh, 1905).

Shields, Alexander, *A Hind Let Loose, or An historical representation of the testimonies of the Church of Scotland for the interest of Christ, with the true state thereof in all its periods together with a vindication of the present testimonie against the Popish, prelatical malignant enemies of that church... and liberties of mankind* (Glasgow, 1770).

Stewart, A.F., ed., *Patrick Crichton: The Woodhouselee Manuscript*, (Edinburgh, 1907), p. 93.

Stopes, Marie, *Roman Catholic Methods of Birth Control* (London, 1933).

Strickland, Agnes, ed., *Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots and Documents from her Personal History now first published and with an introduction by Agnes Strickland*, 3 vols (London, 1842-3).

Styve, John, *The Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion and Various Occurrences in the Church of England during the First Twelve Years of Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign* (London, 1709).

Stuart, James (James VI & I), *Basilicon Doron*, a reproduction of an anglicised version of the work printed in 1599 (Menston, Yorkshire, 1969).

Symington, William, *The Characters and Claims of the Scottish Martyrs: A Discourse delivered in St. Michael's Churchyard, Dumfries, on occasion of a collection for erecting a monument commemorative of some who suffered in the cause of reformation* (Dumfries, 1831).

Thomson, G.M., *Caledonia, or the Future of the Scots*, (London, 1927).

Thomson, John, H., ed., *A Cloud of Witnesses for the Royal Prerogatives of Jesus Christ: being The Last Speeches and Testimonies of those Who Have Suffered for the Truth in Scotland, since the year 1680*. Reprinted from the Original Editions, with Explanatory and Historical notes (Edinburgh, 1871). First Edition published in 1714.

Thorburn, Thomas, *Statistical Analysis of the Census of the City of Edinburgh 1851* (Edinburgh, 1851).

Wood, Marguerite & Helen Armit, *Extracts from the Records of Edinburgh 1681 – 1689* (Edinburgh, 1954),

Monographs

- Aitken, James M., *The Trial of George Buchanan before the Lisbon Inquisition including the Text of Buchanan's Defences along with a Translation and Commentary* (Edinburgh, 1939).
- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1992)
- Anderson, William Pitcairn, *Silences That Speak: Records of Edinburgh's ancient churches and burial grounds with biographical sketches of the notables who rest there* (Edinburgh, 1931).
- Anson, Peter F., *Underground Catholicism in Scotland 1622-1878* (Montrose, 1970).
- Anson, Peter F., *The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland 1560 – 1937* (London, 1937).
- Arnot, R. Page, *A History of the Scottish Miners from the Earliest Times* (London, 1955).
- Aylmer, G.E., *Rebellion or Revolution: England 1640-1660* (Oxford, 1987).
- Barr, James, *The Scottish Covenanters* (Glasgow, 1946).
- Barrow, G.W.S., *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1988).
- Bartlett, F.C., *Political Propaganda* (Cambridge, 1940).
- Belloc, Hilaire, *Characters of the Reformation* (London, 1936).
- Benewick, Robert, *Political Violence and Public Order: A Study of British Fascism* (London, 1969).
- Bennet, Richard, *The Black and Tans* (London, 1976).
- Billig, Michael, *A Social Psychological View of the National Front* (London, 1978).
- Bingham, Caroline, *James VI of Scotland* (London, 1979).
- Black, J.B., *The Reign of Elizabeth 1558-1603* 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1959).
- Boyle, Raymond & Peter Lynch, eds, *Out of the Ghetto? The Catholic Community in*

- Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1998).
- Bradley, Joseph M., *St Mary's Hamilton: A Social History 1846-1996* (Edinburgh, c1995).
- Breitenbach, Esther and Eleanor Gordon, eds, *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society 1800-1945* (Edinburgh, 1992).
- Brierley, Peter and Fergus Macdonald, *Prospects for Scotland: Trends and Tables from the 1994 Scottish Church Census* (Edinburgh, 1995).
- Brodict, James, *Robert Bellarmine Saint and Scholar* (London, 1961).
- Brotherstone, Terry, ed., *Covenant, Charter and Party: Traditions of Revolt and Protest in Modern Scottish History* (Aberdeen, 1989).
- Broun, Dauvit, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999).
- Brown, Alice, David McCrone & Lindsay Paterson, *Politics and Society in Scotland* (London, 1996).
- Brown, Callum G., *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London, 1987).
- Brown, Callum G., *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh, 1997).
- Brown, Callum G., *The People in the Pews: Religion and Society in Scotland since 1780: Studies in Scottish Economic and Social History, No. 3* (Glasgow, 1993).
- Brown, Callum G., *The Death of Christian Britain. Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000* (London, 2000).
- Brown, P. Hume, *Surveys of Scottish History* (Glasgow, 1919).
- Brown, S.J. & Michael Fry, *Scotland in the Age of Disruption* (Edinburgh, 1993).
- Bruce, Steve, *No Pope of Rome, Militant Protestantism in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985).
- Bruce, Steve, ed., *Religion and Modernization: Socialists and Historians Debate the Secularization Thesis* (Oxford, 1992).
- Burke, Kenneth, *The Rhetoric of Religion : Studies in Logology* (Los Angeles, 1970).

- Burman, Edward, *The Inquisition: The Hammer of Heresy* (Wellingburg, 1984).
- Butler, David & Gareth Butler, *British Political Facts 1900-1985*, Sixth Edition (London, 1986).
- Butler, David & Gareth Butler, *Twentieth Century Political Facts 1900-2000*, eighth Edition (London, 2000).
- Cameron, James K., *The First Book of Discipline*, with introduction and commentary (Edinburgh, 1972).
- Campbell, Alan B., *The Lanarkshire Miners: A Social History of Their Trade Unions 1775-1974* (Edinburgh, 1979).
- Campbell, Thorbjorn, *Standing Witnesses: An Illustrated Guide to the Scottish Covenanters* (Edinburgh, 1966).
- Canning, Bernard, J., *Irish Born Secular Priests in Scotland 1829-1979* (Paisley, 1979).
- Carlton, Charles, *Charles I: The Personal Monarch* (London, 1983).
- Carlton, Charles, *Archbishop William Laud* (London, 1987).
- Checkland, Sidney & Olive, *Industry and Ethos. Scotland 1832-1914, (The new history of Scotland: 7)* (London, 1984).
- Childs, John, *The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution* (Manchester, 1980).
- Clancy, Thomas H., *Papist Pamphleteers: The Allen-Parsons Party and the Political Thought of the Counter-Reformation in England, 1572-1615* (Chicago, 1964).
- Clark, George, *The Later Stuarts 1660-1714*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1955).
- Clements, W.H., *Towers of Strength: The Story of the Martello Towers* (Barnsley, 1999).
- Colley, Linda, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London, 1992).
- Cooney, John, *Scotland and the Papacy: Pope John Paul II's Visit in Perspective* (Edinburgh, 1982).
- Cornwell, John, *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* (London, 1999).
- Cowan, Ian B., *The Scottish Covenanters 1660-88* (London, 1976).

- Cowan, Ian B., *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in Sixteenth-century Scotland* (London, 1982).
- Craig, F.W.S., *British Parliamentary Elections 1918-1949* (Glasgow, 1969),
- Craig, F.W.S., *British Parliamentary Election Results*, 3rd Edition (Chichester, 1983).
- Cressy, David, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabeth and Stuart England* (London, 1989).
- Cross, Colin, *Fascists in Britain* (London, 1961).
- Cunningham, J., *The Church History of Scotland from the Commencement of the Christian Era to the Present Time*, 2nd edition, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1882).
- Curtis, L. P., Jr, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England* (New York, 1968).
- Curtis, L. P., Jr, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Culture* (Newton Abbott, 1971).
- Cust, R. & Ann Hughes, eds, *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642* (London, 1989).
- Dalton, Charles, *The Scots Army 1661-1688, with Memoirs of the Commanders-in-Chief*, in two parts, illustrated (London, 1989).
- Darragh, James, *The Catholic Hierarchy of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1986).
- Davison, M.H. Armstrong, *The Casket Letters: A Solution to the Mystery of Mary Queen of Scots and the Murder of Lord Darnley* (London, 1965).
- Defoe, Daniel, *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland in four periods from the Reformation to the Union with an appendix of some transactions since the Union*, carefully reprinted from the original edition of 1717 (Edinburgh, 1848).
- Devine, T.M., *Exploring the Scottish Past: Themes in the History of Scottish Society* (East Linton, 1995).
- Devine, T.M., *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* (London, 1999).
- Devine, T.M. and David Dickson, eds, *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850. Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development* (Edinburgh, 1983).
- Devine, T.M. ed., *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and*

- Twentieth Centuries: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde, 1989/90* (Edinburgh, 1991).
- Devine, T.M. & R.F. Findlay, eds, *Scotland in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh, 1996).
- Devine, T.M. & J.F. McMillan eds, *Celebrating Columba, Irish Scottish Connections 597-1997* (Edinburgh, 1999).
- Devine, T.M., ed., *Scotland's Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2000).
- Dewar, M.W., John Brown and S.E. Long, *Orangeism: A New Historical Appreciation*, 2nd ed. (Belfast, 1969).
- Dickens, A.G., *The English Reformation*, 2nd edn (London, 1989).
- Dickens, A.G., *The German Nation and Martin Luther* (London, 1974).
- Dickinson, W. Croft and Gordon Donaldson, *A Source Book of Scottish History*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1954).
- Dickson, A. & J.H. Treble, eds, *People and Society in Scotland, III, 1914-1990* (Edinburgh, 1992).
- Dixon, Peter, *Rhetoric* (London, 1971).
- Dobson, David, *Scots-Irish Links 1575-1725* (St Andrews, 1994-5).
- Donald, Peter, *An Uncounselled King: Charles I and the Scottish troubles 1637-1641* (Cambridge, 1990).
- Donaldson, Gordon, *Faith of the Scots* (London, 1990).
- Donaldson, Gordon, *Reformed by Bishops* (Edinburgh, 1987).
- Donaldson, Gordon, *The Edinburgh History of Scotland, Vol. III, Scotland: James V to James VII* (Edinburgh, 1965).
- Donaldson, Gordon, *Scotland, The Shaping of a Nation* (London, 1974).
- Donaldson, Gordon, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge, 1960).
- Donaldson, M.E.M., *Scotland's Suppressed History* (London, 1934).

Donnachie, Ian and George Hewitt, *A Companion to Scottish History from the Reformation to the Present* (London, 1989).

Donnachie, Ian & Christopher Whatley, *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1992).

Donnachie, Ian, Christopher Harvie and Ian S. Wood, eds, *FORWARD! Labour Politics in Scotland 1888-1988* (Edinburgh, 1989).

Donovan, Robert Kent, *No Popery and Radicalism: Opposition to Roman Catholic Relief in Scotland 1778-1792*, a dissertation submitted to the history department of Harvard University for the degree of PhD. in 1964 and amended for publication 1986 (London, 1987).

Dow, F.D., *Cromwellian Scotland 1651-1660* (Edinburgh, 1979).

Dunlop, John, *A Precarious Belonging: Presbyterians and the Conflict in Ireland* (Belfast, 1995).

Dunnet, A.H., *Studies in Scottish Economic and Social History No. 3, The People in the Pews: Religion and Society in Scotland since 1780* (Glasgow, 1993).

Dures, Alan, *English Catholicism 1558-1642* (London, 1983).

Dyer, Michael, *Capable Citizens and Improvident Democrats: The Scottish Electoral System 1884-1929* (Aberdeen, 1996).

Edwards, Peter, *Inquisition* (Los Angeles, 1989).

Edwards, R. D., *The Faithful Tribe: An Intimate Portrait of the Loyal Institutions* (London, 1999).

Eisenstein, Elizabeth L., *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and cultural transformations in early modern Europe*, Vols I and II (Cambridge, 1980).

Ellis, Phillip, and others, *Sermons* (London, 1686).

Erickson, Carolly, *Bloody Mary* (London, 1978).

Febvre, Lucien and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, translated by David Gerard, edited by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton (London, 1976).

Ferguson, William, *The Edinburgh History of Scotland, Volume IV, Scotland 1689 to*

the Present (Edinburgh, 1968).

Fishman, Nina, *The British Communist and the Trade Unions, 1933-45* (Aldershot, 1995).

Fissel, Mark Charles, *The Bishops' Wars: Charles I's campaigns against Scotland, 1638-1640* (Cambridge, 1994).

Fleming, David Hay, *The Reformation in Scotland: Causes, Characteristics, Consequences* (London, 1910).

Fletcher, Anthony, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London, 1981).

Flinn, Michael, ed., *Scottish Population History from 17th Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge, 1977).

William Forbes-Leith, W., ed., *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI. Now first printed from the original manuscripts in the secret archives of the Vatican and other collections* (London, 1889), p. 222.

Foster, R.F., *Paddy and Mr Punch: Connections in Irish and English History* (London, 1993).

Fraser, Antonia, *King James I of England, VI of Scotland* (London, 1974).

Fraser, Antonia, *King Charles II* (London, 1979).

Fraser, Antonia, *The Gunpowder Plot: Terror and Faith in 1605* (London, 1996).

Fraser, W. Hamish & R. J. Morris, *People and Society in Scotland*, Vol. II, 1830-1914 (Edinburgh, 1990).

Fremantle, Anne, *The Papal Encyclicals in their Historical Context* (New York, 1960), p. 152.

Fry, M., *Patronage and Principle: A Political History of Modern Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1987).

Gallagher, Tom, *Edinburgh Divided, John Cormack and No Popery in the 1930s* (Edinburgh, 1987).

Gallagher, Tom, *Glasgow: the Uneasy Peace: Religious Tension in Modern Scotland* (Manchester, 1987).

Gibbon, Edward, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 6 vols (London, 1980).

- Glendinning, Victoria, *Jonathon Swift* (London, 1998).
- Goldring, Maurice, *Belfast: From Loyalty to Rebellion* (London, 1991).
- Gordon, George and Brian Dicks, eds, *Scottish Urban History* (Aberdeen, 1983).
- Gray, Tony, *The Orange Order* (London, 1972).
- Gray, Robert Q., *The Labour Aristocracy in Edinburgh* (Oxford, 1976).
- Green, V.H.H., *Renaissance & Reformation: A Survey of European History between 1450 & 1660* (London, 1985).
- Greil, Michael Da, *Prejudice in Ireland revisited* (Maynooth, 1996).
- Gwynn, Denis, *A Hundred Years of Catholic Emancipation 1829-1929* (London, 1929).
- Hand, Gerard and Andrew Morton, eds, *Catholicism and the Future of Scotland: A Sociological View*, Centre for Theology and Public Issues, The University of Edinburgh, Occasional Paper No. 39 (Edinburgh, 1997).
- Handley, J.E., *The Irish in Scotland 1798-1845* (Cork, 1945).
- Handley, James Edmund, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork, 1947).
- Handley, James Edmund, *The Navy in Scotland* (Cork, 1970).
- Harvie, C., *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes: Twentieth Century Scotland*, 3rd edn (Edinburgh, 1998).
- Harvey, William, *Scottish Chapbook Literature* (New York, 1903 reprinted 1971).
- Hay, Malcolm V., *Winston Churchill and James II of England* (London, 1934).
- Haythornthwaite, J.A., with the assistance of N.C. Wilson and V.A. Botho, *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century, an Analytical Bibliography of Material Relating to Scotland in Parliamentary Papers, 1800-1900* (Aldershot, 1993).
- Henderson, G.D., *Religious Life in Seventeenth Century Scotland* (Cambridge, 1937).
- Hewison, James King, *The Covenanters: A History of the Church in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*, revised and corrected, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1913).

- Hogg, James *The Brownie of Bodsbeck*, ed. by Douglas S. Mack (Edinburgh, 1976).
- Hogg, James, *A Queer Book*, ed by P.D. Garside, The Stirling/South Carolina research edition of the collected works of James Hogg, vol. 3 (Edinburgh, 1995).
- Holford, John, *Reshaping Labour: Organisation, Work and Politics – Edinburgh in the Great War and After* (London, 1988).
- Holmes, Colin, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society 1871-1971* (London, 1988).
- Houston, R.A. and I.D. Whyte, eds, *Scottish Society 1500 - 1800* (Cambridge, 1989).
- Howie, John, *The Scots Worthies*, revised from the author's original edition by W.H. Carslaw (Edinburgh, 1870). The first edition was published in 1775.
- Hunt, William, *The Puritan Moment: The Coming of Revolution in an English County* (London, 1983).
- Hutchison, I.G.C., 'Politics and Society in Mid Victorian Glasgow 1846-1886' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1975).
- Hutchison, I.G.C., *A Political History of Scotland 1832-1924* (Edinburgh, 1986).
- Huxley, Aldous, *Brave New World Revisited* (London, 1959).
- Jamie, David, *John Hope Philanthropist and Reformer* (Edinburgh, 1900).
- Jamieson, John, *Bell the Cat; or, Who Destroyed the Scottish Abbeys?* (Stirling, 1902).
- Jarvie, Grant, and Graham Walker, *Scottish Sport in the Making of the Nation: Ninety Minute Patriots?* (Leicester, 1994).
- Johnston, Thomas, *History of the Working Classes in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1922).
- Jordan, W.K., *Edward VI: The Young King. The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset* (London, 1969).
- Jordan, W.K., *Edward VI: The Threshold of Power. The Dominance of the Duke of Northumberland* (London, 1970).
- Keeler, M.F., *The Long Parliament, 1640-41: A Biographical Study of its Members* (Philadelphia, 1954).
- Keith, R., *The History of the Affairs of the Church and State in Scotland from the*

- beginning of the Reformation... to 1568*, 3 vols (Spottiswoode Society, 1844-50).
- Kennedy, Dennis, *The Widening Gulf: Northern Attitudes to the Independent Irish State 1919-1949* (Belfast, 1988).
- Kibblewhite, Liz and Andy Rigby, *Fascism in Aberdeen: Street Politics in the 1930's* (Aberdeen, 1978).
- Kidd, Colin, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig historians and the creation of Anglo-British identity, 1689-c. 1830* (Cambridge 1993).
- Kirk, James, *The Second Book of Discipline*, with introduction and commentary (Edinburgh, 1980).
- Lake, Peter, *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics* (London, 1989),
- Lambert, Richard. S., *Propaganda* (London, 1941).
- Lamont, William, and Sybil Oldfield, *Politics, Religion and Literature in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1975).
- Lane, Jane, *The Reign of King Covenant*, (London, 1956).
- Lee, Maurice, jr, *The Road to Revolution: Scotland under Charles II* (Chicago, 1985).
- Leneman, Leah, ed., *Perspectives in Scottish Social History: Essays in Honour of Rosalind Mitchison* (Aberdeen, 1988).
- Lenman, Bruce, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1698 – 1746* (London, 1980).
- Lenman, Bruce, *The Jacobite Clans of the Great Glen 1650-1784* (London, 1995).
- Lenman, Bruce & John S. Gibson, *The Jacobite Threat: Rebellion and Conspiracy 1688 – 1759. England, Ireland, Scotland and France. A Source Book* (Edinburgh, 1990).
- Leys, M.D.R., *Catholics in England, 1559-1829: A Social History* (London, 1961).
- Linklater, Magnus & Robin Denniston, eds, *Anatomy of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1992).
- Local History Series No. 15, *The Persecutions in Scotland 1603-1685* (Wigtown, 1995).
- Logue. Kenneth J., *Popular Disturbances in Scotland 1780-1815* (Edinburgh, 1979).

- Lugton, Alan, *The Making of Hibernian 2 1893-1914 The Brave Years*, foreword by Tom O'Malley (Edinburgh, 1997).
- Lunn, Kenneth & Richard C. Thurlow, eds, *British Fascism: Essays on the Radical Right in Inter-war Britain* (London, 1980).
- Lunn, K, *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities in British Society: Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society 1870-1914* (Folkestone, 1980).
- Lynch, Michael, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981).
- Lynch, Michael, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1992).
- Lythe, S.G.E., *The Economy of Scotland 1550-1625* (Edinburgh, 1960).
- McCabe, Joseph, *A Candid History of the Jesuits* (London, 1913).
- McCarra, Kevin, *Scottish Football: A Pictorial History from 1867 to the Present Day* Clydesdale Bank Heritage Series no. 2 (Glasgow, 1984).
- MacColla, Fion, *The Sign of the Clenched Fist* (Edinburgh, 1967).
- McCrone, David, *Understanding Scotland: the sociology of a stateless nation* (London, 1992).
- McCrone, David, and Brian Elliott, *Property and Power in a City: The sociological Significance of Landlordism* (Basingstoke, 1989).
- MacCuarta, Brian, ed., *Ulster 1641 Aspects of the Rising* (Belfast, 1997).
- Macdonald, Catriona M.M., ed., *Unionist Scotland 1800-1997* (Edinburgh, 1998).
- Macdougall, Norman, ed., *Scotland and War AD 79-1918* (Edinburgh, 1991).
- McFarland, Elaine W., *Protestants First: Orangeism in Nineteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990).
- McFarlane, I. D., *Buchanan* (London, 1981).
- Macinnes, Allan I., *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement* (Edinburgh, 1991).
- Macintyre, Stuart, *Little Moscows Communism and Working-class Militancy in Inter-war Britain* (London, 1980).

- Mackay, John R., *The Inquisition: The Reformation: The Counter Reformation. Lectures delivered under the auspices of the Protestant Institute of Scotland* (Inverness, 1911).
- McKean, Charles, *Edinburgh Portrait of a City* (London, 1991).
- Mackenzie, Compton, *Catholicism and Scotland* (London, 1936).
- Mackenzie, R.F., *A Search for Scotland* (London, 1989).
- Mackie, J.D., *A History of the Scottish Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1960).
- MacLeod, James Lachlan, *The Second Disruption: The Free Church in Victorian Scotland and the Origins of the Free Presbyterian Church*, Scottish Historical Review Monograph No.8 (East, Linton, Scotland, 2000).
- McPherson, A., ed, *History of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland 1893-1970* (Inverness, 1975). Compiled by a Committee Appointed by the Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church.
- McRoberts, David, *The Catholic Directory for Scotland 1829-1975* (Glasgow, 1975).
- McRoberts, David, ed., *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878-1978* (Glasgow, 1979).
- McRoberts, David, ed., *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625* (Glasgow, 1962).
- Macrory, Patrick, *The Siege of Derry* (London, 1980).
- Machiavelli, Niccolo, *The Discourses*, edited with an introduction by Bernard Crick and translated by Leslie, J. Walker, S.J. with revisions by Brian Richardson (Harmondsworth, 1970).
- Makey, Walter, *The Church of the Covenant 1637-1651. Revolution and Social Change in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979).
- Marshall, James S., *The Life and Times of Leith* (Edinburgh, 1985).
- Marshall, James S., *The Church in the Midst: South Leith Parish Church through the Centuries* (Edinburgh, 1982).
- Marshall, William, S., *The Billy Boys; A Concise History of Orangeism in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1996).

- Martin, Colin and Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada* (London, 1988).
- Marwick, W.H., 'Municipal Politics in Victorian Edinburgh', *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* (Edinburgh, 1969-72).
- Mason, Roger & Norman Macdougall, *People and Power in Scotland. Essays in Honour of T.C. Smout* (Edinburgh, 1992).
- Massie, Allan, *Edinburgh* (London, 1994).
- Matheson, Peter, *The Rhetoric of the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1998).
- Mathieson, W.L., *Politics and Religion. A study in Scottish History from the Reformation to the Revolution*, 2 vols (Glasgow, 1902).
- Miller, John, *James II: A Study in Kingship* (Hove, 1978).
- Mitchell, Martin J., *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797-1848 Trade Unions, Strikes and Political Movements* (Edinburgh, 1998).
- Monaghan, Andrew, *God's People: 110 characters in the story of Scottish religion* (Edinburgh, 1991).
- Mowat, Sue, *The Metters of Leith* (Edinburgh, 1991).
- Mowat, Sue, *The Port of Leith: Its History and Its People* (Edinburgh, 1994).
- Mullan, David George, *Episcopacy in Scotland: The History of an Idea* (Edinburgh, 1986).
- Murray, Bill, *The Old Firm: Sectarianism, Sport and Society in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1984).
- Noel, Gerard, *The Anatomy of the Catholic Church* (London, 1980).
- Ochojna, A.D., *Lines of Class Distinction: An Economic and Social History of the British Tramcar with special reference to Edinburgh and Glasgow*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1974.
- O'Donnell, F.H., *The Ruin of Education in Ireland and the Irish Fanar*, 3rd edn (London, 1903).
- Oliphant, Margaret, *Royal Edinburgh Her Saints, Kings, Prophets and Poets* (London, 1999), first published 1890.

- Parry, Sir Edward, *The Persecution of Mary Stewart. The Queen's Cause: A Study in Criminology*, with 8 plates (New York, 1931).
- Pelling, Henry, *The British Communist Party: A Historical Profile* (London, 1975).
- Penhaligon, Tom, *The Impossible Irish* (London, 1935).
- Perceval-Maxwell, M., *The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641* (London, 1994).
- Phillips, James Emerson, *Images of a Queen: Mary Stuart in Sixteenth-Century Literature* (London, 1964).
- Pittock, Murray G.H., *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans* (Edinburgh, 1995).
- Plowden, Alison, *Danger to Elizabeth: The Catholics under Elizabeth I* (London, 1973).
- Pottinger, George, *The Secretaries of State for Scotland 1926 - 1979* (Edinburgh, 1979).
- Pryde, George S., *A New History of Scotland*, vol. II, *Scotland from 1603 to the present day*, (Edinburgh, 1962).
- Rawlinson, Peter, *The Jesuit Factor: A Personal Investigation* (London, 1990).
- Reay, Barrie, *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England*, (Beckenham, 1985).
- Roberts, John L., *Clan, King and Covenant: History of the Highland Clans from the Civil War to the Glencoe Massacre* (Edinburgh, 2000).
- Robson, Robert, ed., *Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain* (London, 1967).
- Rodger, Richard, *The Transformation of Edinburgh: Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2001).
- Ross, Anthony, *The Root of the Matter Boyhood Manhood and God* (Edinburgh, 1989).
- Russell, John, *The Story of Leith* (Edinburgh, 1922).
- Russell, Conrad, ed., *The Origins of the English Civil War* (London, 1994).
- Sanderson, Margaret H.B., *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton, c1494-1546* (Edinburgh, 1986).
- Sanderson, Margaret H.B., *Mary Stewart's People, Life in Mary Stewart's Scotland*

- (Edinburgh, 1987).
- Scarisbrick, J.J., *Henry VIII* (London, 1981).
- Scotland, James, *The History of Scottish Education*, 2 vols (London, 1969).
- Scott, Paul H., *Still in Bed with an Elephant* (Edinburgh, 1988).
- Scott, Paul H., ed., *Scotland: A Concise Cultural History* (Edinburgh, 1993).
- Scott-Moncrieff, George, *Catholic Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1961).
- Searle, G.W., *The Counter Reformation* (London, 1974).
- Seel, Graham E., *Regicide and Republic England 1603 – 1660* (Cambridge, 2001).
- Sewell, Brocard, *In the Dorian Mode: A Life of John Gray 1866-1934*, (Padstow, Cornwall, 1983).
- Shepard, Leslie, *The History of Street Literature* (Newton Abbot, 1973).
- Slee, Dorothy, *Two Generations of Edinburgh Folk* (Edinburgh, 1993).
- Smellie, Alexander, *Men of the Covenant: The Story of the Scottish in the Years of Persecution*, 2 vols (London, 1908).
- Smith, Maurice, *Paper Lions: The Scottish Press and National Identity* (Edinburgh, 1994).
- Smout, T.C., *A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950* (London, 1987).
- Smyth, J.J., *Labour in Glasgow 1896-1936: Socialism, Suffrage, Sectarianism. A Scottish Historical Review Monograph* (East Linton, 2000).
- Soman, Alfred, ed., *The Massacre of Saint Bartholemew, Reappraisals and Documents*, International Archives of the History of Ideas (The Hague, 1974).
- Somerset, Anne, *Elizabeth I* (London, 1991).
- Spence, Alan, *Changed Days, Memories of an Edinburgh Community* (Edinburgh, 1988).
- Sprott, Duncan, *1784* ((London, 1984).
- Steinberg, S.H., *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, with a foreword by Beatrice Warde

(Harmondsworth, 1961).

Stevenson, David, *The Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1988).

Stevenson, David, *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644* (Newton Abbot, Devon 1973).

Stevenson, David, ed., *Union, Revolution and Religion in 17th Century Scotland* (Aldershot, 1997).

Swift, Roger, and Sheridan Gilley, eds, *The Irish in the Victorian City* (London, 1985).

Taylor, A.J.P., *English History 1914-1945* (Oxford, 1965).

Taylor, A. J. P. and J. M. Roberts, eds, *Purnell's History of the 20th Century*, 10 vols (London, 1971).

Tilly, Charles, *Nineteenth-Century Origins of Our Twentieth-Century Collective-Action Repertoire*, a paper prepared for presentation to the conference on Economy and Society in the Twentieth Century in honour of Tom Burns, University of Edinburgh, 1981.

Todd, Margo, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (London, 2002).

Trevor-Roper, H.R., *Archbishop Laud 1573-1645* (London, 1940).

Trevelyan, G.O., *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 2 vols (London, 1876).

Vaillancourt, Jean-Guy, *Papal Power: A Study of the Vatican Control over Lay Catholic Elites* (London, 1980).

Walker, Graham, *Intimate Strangers: Political and Cultural Interaction between Scotland and Ulster in Modern Times* (Edinburgh, 1995).

Walker, Graham and Tom Gallagher, eds, *Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990).

Walker, Williston and R.A. Norris, D.W. Lotz, R.T. Handy, *A History of the Christian Church*, 4th edn (Edinburgh, 1986).

W.M. Walker, *Juteopolis: Dundee and its textile workers 1885-1923* (Edinburgh, 1979).

Weber, Max, *On Charisma and Institution Building*, selected papers, ed. and with an introduction by S.N. Eisenstadt (London, 1968).

- Williams, H. Noel, *The Brood of the False Lorraine. The History of the House of Guise (1496-1588)*, 2 vols (London, 1919).
- Williamson, Arthur H., *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture* (Edinburgh, 1979).
- Wodrow, Robert, *Collections upon the lives of the Reformers and most eminent ministers of the Church of Scotland*, 2 vols (Glasgow, 1834).
- Wodrow, Robert, *The History of the Sufferings of The Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, with an original memoir of the author, extracts from his correspondence, a preliminary dissertation, and notes by Robert Burns (Glasgow, 1830).
- Wolffe, John, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain 1828-1860* (Oxford, 1991).
- Wood, Diana, *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, papers read at the 1992 summer meeting and 1993 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society.
- Wood, Ian S., ed., *Scotland & Ulster* (Edinburgh, 1994).
- Wood, Ian S., *John Wheatley* (Manchester, 1990).
- Workman, H.B., *John Wyclif: A Study of the English Medieval Church*, Vol. I (Oxford, 1926).
- Wormald, Jenny, *Mary Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure* (London, 1988).
- Wormald, Jenny, ed., *Scotland Revisited* (London, 1991).
- Woywood, S., *The New Canon Law*, 7th edn (London, 1940).
- Young, James D., *The Rousing of the Scottish Working Class* (London, 1979).
- Youngson, A.J., *The Prince and the Pretender: A Study in the Writing of History* (Beckenham, Kent, 1985).

Articles

- Aspinwall, Bernard, 'Baptisms, Marriages and Lithuanians; or, "Ghetto? What Ghetto": Some reflections on modern Catholic historical assumptions', in *The Innes Review* 51 (2000), 55-67.

- Brown, S.J., 'Outside the Covenant: The Scottish Presbyterian Churches and Irish Immigration 1922-1928', in *The Innes Review*, XLII (1991), 19-45.
- Collins, Brenda, 'Proto-industrialization and pre-Famine emigration' in *Social History*, 7 (1982), 127-146.
- Colpi, Terri, 'The Scottish Italian Community: Senza Un Campanile?', in *The Innes Review*, 44 (1993), 153-167.
- Cormack, John, 'My Hectic Life', in *Protestant Telegraph*, 11 January 1969, 25 January 1969, 8 February 1969 and 22 February 1969.
- Darragh, James, 'The Catholic Population of Scotland since the year 1680', in *The Innes Review*, IV (1953), 49-59.
- Finlay, Richard J., 'Nationalism, Race, Religion and the Irish Question in Inter-War Scotland', in *The Innes Review*, XLII (1991), 46-67.
- Gallagher, Tom, 'Protestant Extremism in Urban Scotland 1930-1938: Its Growth and Contraction', in *Scottish Historical Review*, 64, 2, No. 178 (1985), 143-167.
- MacLean, Donald, 'Roman Catholicism in Scotland in the Reign of Charles II', in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, III, (1929), 43-54.
- Milligan, Tony, 'The British Union of Fascists Policy in Relation to Scotland', in *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 19, part 1 (1999), 1-15.
- Muirhead, Ian A., 'Catholic Emancipation: Scottish Reactions in 1829', in *The Innes Review*, 24 (1973), 103-120.
- Thompson, E.P., 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', in *Past and Present. A journal of historical studies*, 50 (1971), 76-136.
- Thurlow, Richard C., 'British Fascism and State Surveillance, 1934 - 1945', in *Intelligence and National Security*, 3, (1988), 77-99.
- Walker, Graham, 'The Orange Order in Scotland Between the Wars', in *International Review of Social History*, 37 (1992), 177-206.
- Walker, W.M., 'Irish Immigrants in Scotland: Their Priests, Politics and Parochial Life', in *The Historical Journal*, XV, 4 (1972), 649-667.

Wiener, Carol Z., 'The Beleaguered Isle. A Study of Elizabethan and early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism', in *Past and Present*, 51 (May 1971), 27-62.

Withrington, D.J., 'The Disruption: a century and a half of historical interpretation', in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 1993, XXV, Part 1, 118-153.

Chapters in Books

Anderson, W.J., 'Rome and Scotland, 1513-1625', in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625* (Glasgow, 1962), ed. David McRoberts, 463-483.

Boyle, Raymond 'Crisis? What Crisis? The Catholic Church and the Secular Press in Scotland', in *Out of the Ghetto? The Catholic Community in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1998), eds Raymond Boyle and Peter Lynch, 118-141.

Brown, C.G., 'Religion and Secularisation', in *People and Society in Scotland*, vol. 3 1914-1990 (Edinburgh, 1992), eds A. Dickson and J.H. Treble, 48-79.

Brown, C.G. and Jayne D. Stephenson, "'Sprouting Wings?": Women and Religion in Scotland 1890-1950', in *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society 1800-1945* (Edinburgh, 1992), eds Esther Breitenbach and Eleanor Gordon, 95-120.

Burns, J.H., 'Political Background of the Reformation 1513-1625', pp. in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625* (Glasgow, 1962), ed. David McRoberts, 1-38.

Clifton, Robin, 'Fear of Popery', in *The Origins of the English Civil War* (London, 1994), ed. Conrad Russell, 144-167.

Devine, T.M., 'The Paradox of Scottish Emigration', in *Exploring the Scottish Past: Themes in the History of Scottish Society* (East Linton, 1955), ed. T.M. Devine, 238-250.

Donnachie, Ian, 'Scottish Labour in the Depression' in *FORWARD! Labour Politics in Scotland 1888-1988* (Edinburgh, 1989), eds Ian Donnachie, Christopher Harvie and Ian S. Wood, 49-65.

Gallagher, Tom, 'The Catholic Irish in Scotland: In Search of an Identity', in *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde, 1989/90* (Edinburgh, 1991), ed. T.M. Devine, 19-43.

Gilley, Sheridan, 'Catholics and Socialists in Glasgow 1906-1912', in *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities in British Society: Historical Responses to Newcomers*

- in British Society 1870-1914* (Folkestone, 1980), ed. K. Lunn, 160-200.
- Harvie, Christopher, 'Before the Breakthrough 1886-1922' in *FORWARD! Labour Politics in Scotland 1888-1988* (Edinburgh, 1989), eds Ian Donnachie, Christopher Harvie and Ian S. Wood, 7-29.
- Hillis, P.C.M., 'The Sociology of the Disruption', in *Scotland in the Age of Disruption* (Edinburgh, 1993), eds Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry, 44-62.
- Hogg, James, 'A Cameronian Ballad' in *A Queer Book* (Edinburgh, 1995), ed by P.D. Garside, the Stirling/South Carolina research edition of the collected works of James Hogg, vol. 3, 84-9.
- Kelly, Donald, 'Martyrs, Myths and the Massacre', in *The Massacre of St Bartholemew, Reappraisals and Documents* (The Hague, 1974), ed. Alfred Soman, 181-202.
- Kingdon, Robert N., 'Reactions to the St Bartholemew Massacres in Geneva and Rome', in *The Massacres of St Bartholemew. Reappraisals and Documents* (The Hague, 1974), ed. Alfred Soman, 25-49.
- Lilly, William, 'Severall Observations upon the Life and Death of Charles, late King of England', in *Selected Tracts relating to the Civil Wars in England in the reign of Charles the First by writers who lived in the times of those wars and were witnesses of the events which they describe* (London, 1815), ed. Francis Maseres, 2 vols, vol. 1, 129-182.
- McCrone, David, 'We're A' Jock Tamson's Bairns', in *Scotland in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh, 1996), eds T.M. Devine and R.J. Finlay, 102-121.
- McFarland, Elaine W., 'Outposts of the Loyalists of Ireland: The Orangemen's Unionist Vision', in *Unionist Scotland 1800-1997* (Edinburgh, 1998), ed. Catriona M.M. Macdonald, 27-51.
- Mackintosh, J. P. and D.T. Terris, 'Religious Politics', in *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland. The City of Edinburgh* (Glasgow, 1966), ed. David Keir, 314-5.
- McRoberts, David, 'Material Destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation', in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625* (Glasgow, 1962), ed. David McRoberts, 415-462.
- Maver, Irene, 'The Catholic Community', in *Scotland in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh, 1996), eds T.M. Devine and R.J. Finlay, 269-284.

- Mitchison, Rosalind, 'Ireland and Scotland: The Seventeenth-Century Legacies Compared', in *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development* (Edinburgh, 1983), eds T.M. Devine and David Dickson, 2-11.
- Monaghan, Andrew, 'Andrew Joseph McDonald, The Archbishop who relished a Fight' in *God's People. One hundred and ten characters in the story of Scottish Religion* (Edinburgh, 1991), Andrew Monaghan, 250-251.
- 'The Popish Damnable Plot against our Religion and Liberties, Fairly laid open and discover'd in the BREVIATS of Threescore and Four LETTERS and Papers of Intelligence', item 21, *Votes of the House of Commons* (London, 1680), paper 12, p. 2.
- Purdie, Bob, 'An Ulster Labourist in Liberal Scotland: William Walker and the Leith Burghs Election of 1910', in *Scotland and Ulster* (Edinburgh, 1994), ed. Ian S. Wood, 116-133.
- Rawnsley, Stuart, 'The Membership of the British Union of Fascists' in *British Fascism, Essays on the Radical Right in Inter-war Britain* (London, 1980), eds Kenneth Lunn & Richard C. Thurlow, 150-165.
- Ross, Anthony, 'Reformation and Repression', in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625* (Glasgow, 1962), ed. David McRoberts, 371-414.
- Ross, Anthony, 'The Development of the Scottish Catholic Community 1878 - 1978', in *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878 - 1978* (Glasgow, 1979), ed. David McRoberts, 30-55.
- Walker, Graham & David Officer, 'Scottish Unionism and the Ulster Question', in *Unionist Scotland 1800-1997* (Edinburgh, 1998), ed. Catriona M.M. Macdonald, 13-26.
- Williamson, Cliff, 'An Antidote to Communism: Catholic Social Action in Glasgow 1931-1939', in *Out of the Ghetto? The Catholic Community in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1998), eds Raymond Boyle and Peter Lynch, 11-41.
- Wood, Ian S., 'Hope Deferred: Labour in Scotland in the 1920s', in *FORWARD! Labour Politics in Scotland 1888-1988* (Edinburgh, 1989), eds Ian Donnachie, Christopher Harvie and Ian S. Wood, 30-48.